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ABSTRACT

This study of early childhood and the family in member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) employs two statistical approaches to the problem of providing an accurate picture of modern conditions of family life. A classical demographic approach to population studies is initially used, then is critiqued, and finally is replaced by an approach which employs statistics of households and families in order to build a more concrete picture of diversity in the immediate enviornment of the child. Part One of the study focuses on general data on population, the value and limitations of general data, factors of demographic evolution and childhood, the impossibility of describing the family and its cycle through demographic models, and normality and pathology of family events. The 16 chapters of Part Two, after a general discussion of households and families, comprise monographs covering aspects of family life in Belgium, Norway, Ireland, New Zealand, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Germany, Japan, The United States of America, Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal, Finland, Sweden and Iceland, Austria, Yugoslavia, The United Kingdom and France. (Author/RH)

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CHILD AND FAMILY

DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE OECD COUNTRIES

by

Hervé Le Bras
Maître de recherches
INED, Paris

PS 011222

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1979

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PREFACE

Changes in demographic data, especially those relating to births, have always posed complex problems for the policy makers who have to plan the social capital investment required to meet the needs of the population — take, for example, the difficulties confronting educational authorities almost everywhere in planning the development of school systems to meet changing trends in the birth rate.

The use of statistics has proved to be particularly difficult when they have been applied to early childhood and the family, as the statistical data often has tended to impose major restrictions on interpretation, and masked essential trends. Thus, we may well be presented with an imperfect picture of the evolving environment into which the child is born. Therefore, it is indeed important to consider the scope, limitations and potential of demography as a discipline applied to the child's natural environment. Is it able to provide a sufficiently clear and usable picture of the complexity, richness and speed of change in the world of early childhood ?

The Centre for Educational Research and Innovation in the OECD has been conducting a programme of enquiry into educational responses to the needs of early childhood since 1972. In the course of this work, the misgivings just expressed have been progressively confirmed with particular respect to the general failure of statistical tables hitherto to inform us sufficiently about this environment, in terms that reflect the youngest age groups of the population as the point of focus. It was felt timely, therefore, to initiate a new and independent study of the field, examining at the same time current statistical and demographic practice. This task has been undertaken by D^r Hervé Le Bras, demographer at the Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques in Paris.

D^r Le Bras' study, which among many other things includes the first comparative study of census data on the composition of households and families, speaks for itself in the pages that follow. Two broad conclusions for the continuation of the work by CERI result.

First, it is evident that children from their birth experience a wide and increasing variety of family situations. There are too many different kinds of families to permit the construction of one rigid model that would be valid for all. Further research and policy change must take account of this contemporary social reality.

Second, « family reality » is changing in the present stage of social and economic development in the OECD countries. Its educational potential in dealing with the relationships between generations, for example, is still only partially recognised. Trends in employment and unemployment (especially in the case of women and young people) are exerting new influences on the dynamics of change in the family-additional, that is, to the inherent factors that have always kept the family in a mutable state.

It is hoped that this study which is issued as one OECD contribution to the International Year of the Child, will elicit widespread interest among both research and policymakers.

J. R. Gass
Director
Centre for Educational
Research and Innovation

INTRODUCTION

Imagine a country in which 50 per cent of families have four children and 50 per cent only one child. From the point of view of the parents, half of them are at the head of a large family, but from the point of view of the children, four out of five, or 80 per cent, live with brothers and sisters. The only child is almost an exception from this second viewpoint, whereas looked at the other way, it accounts for 50 per cent of family situations.

This well-known demographic paradox goes deeper than it appears to. It expresses the fact that statistics, just like a photo, a map or even a painting, reflect a particular point of view. The observer is placed at a certain spot from which he observes in a certain direction.

One tends to forget this, as very often the data published by the census authorities and registrars' offices are aligned on the object in view : namely to organise and plan the world of work, health or education. But to describe the world of the child (which is our present concern) — its immediate family, its home, the extended family, the neighbourhood — the classical viewpoint proves inadequate. This is the viewpoint of the State « from above », counting the number of one-child or four-children families, whereas what one would like to know is the view « from below », that of the child living in contact with its parents, brothers, sisters and relatives.

For economic and financial reasons, but also because it has the monopoly of census and registry operations, the State has extensively imposed its view from above. But if one wants to understand the day-to-day conditions of children's lives, it is also necessary to take the other approach — from below.

To resolve this dilemma, we shall be changing viewpoints continuously in the course of this study. We shall start from the top with the traditional aggregates — births, deaths, total population — aggregates which are totally abstract for individuals, who in pre-census days would have been quite incapable of saying whether there were ten million Europeans or a hundred. Then we shall come down a notch with a few indicators which, though still general, already bear some relation to childhood : fertility, infant mortality, distribution of children in families. We shall come down still closer by considering the events that punctuate the « life cycle » of families, namely marriages and divorces ; and, having reached that point, we shall study at greater length the phenomenon of out-of-wedlock births, in order to show the interconnection of those demographic events that appear separately in every traditional presentation, namely births, marriages and deaths.

This first approach develops the elements of the science that statistics has become ; it will be found in Chapters I, III and V. In between, we have interpolated two chapters (II and IV) of criticism. All too often, indeed, statistics lack explanations. One does not know how or why numbers are there, which makes them all the more daunting. We have attempted here to show the statistical categories as they polish and prune reality and the way reality resists this pigeonholing and the abstract divisions — as by age, marital status or category of community — which cut right across it, creating new clefts and thereby concealing the older differences that everyone experiences.

So the convinced reader can make do with just the odd-numbered chapters and the sceptical reader with the even-numbered chapters, but we advise the others to read both, for they are complementary and lead to one conclusion : namely that conventional population statistics describe childhood neither fully nor accurately. Rather than try to hunt for missing pieces of the statistical puzzle, we shall change our approach completely in the second part of the study.

There we explore a vast numerical area that is little known and has been little studied : the statistics of « households and families ». It is then that the viewpoint « from below » will appear, since the child's immediate environment — its family and its home — will be depicted.

These statistics*, which can differ completely from one country to another, do more than just provide numbers concerning the composition of families and households : they also provide an extraordinary and delectable description of these families and households. Little by little a buried ethnology will be seen to surface, in which developed countries and their neighbours reveal unsuspected differences.

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* The statistical tables have been numbered as follows : the first figure indicates the part of the volume (first or second) ; the second figure refers to the chapter ; and the third figure gives the numerical order in the chapter. (I.II.3 : Part One, Chapter II, Table 3).

The description, so simple on the face of it, which is constituted by the words « father », « mother », « brothers », « sisters », becomes complicated to the point where any classification is impossible. The results of the desperate attempts to find technical descriptions to fit all the different kinds of households can be quite astonishing. Some countries will actually identify hundreds of different types of household, without ever fully covering the real diversity of multiple households and extended families where blood-related couples live together and are joined by friends and more distant relatives.

But one must not be mistaken about this description of households and families in the statistics of developed countries and treat it either with too much respect (thinking to find the child's environment in it), or with disrespect and thus acquire a general contempt for statistics.

The picture the statistics paint of the family links, while it tells us about the school and the talent of the artist, does not tell us anything about the importance of the different members of the household to the child, or even the importance of this immediate environment, as compared with the other environments that already exist at a further remove, such as the day nursery, the school, or simply the playground, the street and the public gardens. We are speaking here in terms of « paintings » by analogy with the way in which Philippe Ariès sought out the details of family life and childhood under the Ancien Régime. For our purposes, the artist's paintings are replaced by the tables of the statistical services, but the end-use is similar.

Conversely, it would be wrong to conceive any contempt for these numerical techniques and the resulting figures. Precision is not a failing: it is transmitted from numbers to ideas. It links these ideas to one another to test their cohesiveness, it confronts them with their consequences and in this way it prevents constructions that are too simple or too convenient. Naturally, the idea does not come out of the numbers as the devotees of « data analysis » would have it, but it is toughened by contact with them.

Part One

DEMOGRAPHIC EVOLUTION OF OECD COUNTRIES SINCE 1945 AND ITS EFFECT ON CHILDHOOD

Chapter I

GENERAL DATA ON POPULATION

Data on population are traditionally divided into two categories : data on the *state* of the population by age, by marital status and by sex, and data on population *movement* which indicate changes of category, arrivals and departures : births, marriages, divorces or deaths.

In both cases, these data represent the viewpoint of the State on individuals. They are therefore used for computations the « political arithmetic »[1] already employed in the past as the basis for levying taxes or marking out administrative districts. The data on the *state* of the population, which may be likened to stocks, are known through censuses or approximated through surveys, while the data on *movement*, which are analagous to flows, are recorded regularly and a *balance sheet* drawn up every year.

It might seem sufficient to collect either one or the other kind, since the mathematical formula is simply :

Current population = previous year's population + (births − deaths) + (immigration − emigration).

But this is never done since, although the number of births and deaths is known fairly exactly, the balance of migration (immigration minus emigration) is not, in most of the OECD countries. We therefore propose here to study both the dynamic and the static data over a fairly long period (since 1946) for all OECD countries.

We have selected the most customary data, but also the least cumbersome. We see little interest in knowing what the population *pyramid* by single years of age is for each year and each country : this classical composite of population structure would comprise for each year and each country : 100 single-year age categories for either sex, i.e.

30 years × 100 categories × 2 sexes × 25 countries = 150 000 numbers.

Quite understandably, therefore, this huge mass of information has to be simplified before any significant characteristics can be identified. We shall therefore confine ourselves to one five-year pyramid for each country. On the other hand, we shall give the annual series of aggregates : total population, births and deaths. We felt it would be useful to add a few parameters of movement which have a bearing on the family and therefore on early childhood : marriages and divorces. Their value series has the advantage of revealing more sudden changes than statistics of births or deaths.

Any accounting of this kind serves two purposes : at national level it provides information about the distribution of the major flows, while at international level it permits inter-country comparisons. But in the present case comparison of countries is difficult since their populations are very unequal in size.

We have therefore resorted to the expedient of scaling each country down to a single inhabitant and reducing the movement parameters accordingly. We thus have the number of marriages, deaths, births or divorces per inhabitant in the form of what is often called « birth, death, marriage and divorce rates ». The exact definition of these rates and their significance raise one or two problems which will be analysed in the next chapter. We merely describe these rates here. This very strict and, in a word, demographic presentation may be surprising but it is quite intentional. Other parameters will be found later on, but either they raise serious difficulties of definition (completed fertility at any one time, for example) or they are not known for all countries (data on the family). Moreover there appeared to be no point in trying to be encyclopaedic just for the sake of it : for instance, data on employment, in fact all economic data, seem irrelevant for our purpose. We have preferred to concentrate on the demographic aspect of early childhood, leaving the economic aspects to others. In any case, excellent data on the occupations and economic status of individuals may be found in several OECD publications, amongst others.

The figures presented are *up-to-date* in the sense that the latest data have been sought. The most recent figures in country yearbooks, or in United

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[1] A very good account of the beginnings of statistics in the 17th and 18th centuries can be found in H. Westergaard's « Contribution to the history of statistics », London, P. S. King and Sons, 1932. A short article by M. G. Kendall (« Where shall the history of statistics begin ? », Biometrika 47 : 447-449, 1960) takes stock of current ideas on the subject.

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Table I-I-1

Births per year by country

Year	Germany	Australia	Austria	Belgium	Canada	Denmark	Spain	United States	Finland	France	Greece	Ireland	Iceland	Italy	Japan	Luxemburg	New Zealand	Norway	Netherlands	Portugal	United Kingdom	Sweden	Switzerland	Turkey	Yugoslavia
1950	813	191	108	143	372	80	559	3 645	98	858	151	64	3.9	909	2 338	4.1	49	62	229	205	818	115	85		494
1951	796	193	103	143	381	77	561	3 845	93	823	155	63	4.0	864	2 138	4.2	50	61	228	208	797	110	82		447
1952	799	202	103	146	404	77	586	3 933	94	819	150	65	4.1	847	2 005	4.5	52	63	232	211	793	110	84		449
1953	796	202	103	146	418	78	583	3 989	91	801	144	63	4.3	842	1 868	4.6	52	63	228	202	804	110	83		484
1954	816	202	104	148	436	76	572	4 102	90	807	152	63	4.3	871	1 770	4.7	54	63	228	198	795	105	84		494
1955	820	208	109	149	443	77	592	4 128	90	802	154	62	4.5	869	1 731	4.7	56	64	229	210	789	107	85		471
1956	856	202	116	151	451	77	601	4 244	89	803	158	61	4.6	884	1 665	4.8	57	64	231	203	825	108	88		460
1957	892	208	119	152	469	75	639	4 332	87	813	156	61	4.7	886	1 567	5.0	58	63	234	212	851	107	91		427
1958	904	212	120	156	470	75	646	4 279	81	809	155	60	4.7	880	1 653	5.0	61	63	237	213	871	106	91		432
1959	952	227	124	161	479	74	647	4 313	83	826	160	60	4.8	911	1 626	5.0	62	63	242	213	879	105	93		424
1960	969	230	126	156	479	76	655	4 307	82	816	157	61	4.9	923	1 606	5.0	63	62	239	214	918	102	94		433
1961	1 013	240	132	158	476	76	646	4 317	82	835	150	60	4.6	924	1 589	5.1	65	63	247	218	944	105	99		422
1962	1 019	237	133	154	470	78	650	4 213	81	829	152	62	4.7	946	1 619	5.1	65	62	246	220	976	107	104		413
1963	1 054	236	135	158	466	82	663	4 142	82	865	148	63	4.8	978	1 676	5.1	65	63	250	212	990	113	110		407
1964	1 065	229	134	160	454	83	689	4 070	80	874	153	64	4.8	1 035	1 732	5.2	62	66	251	217	1 015	123	113		401
1965	1 044	223	130	155	419	86	668	3 801	78	862	151	63	4.7	1 018	1 823	5.3	60	66	245	210	998	123	112		408
1966	1 050	223	128	151	388	88	662	3 642	78	860	155	62	4.7	999	1 375	5.2	60	67	240	207	980	123	110		400
1967	1 019	229	127	146	371	81	672	3 555	77	837	163	61	4.4	962	1 955	5.0	61	67	239	202	962	122	107		390
1968	970	241	126	141	364	75	660	3 535	74	833	160	61	4.2	945	1 887	4.7	62	68	237	195	947	113	105		383
1969	903	250	121	141	370	71	659	3 630	68	840	154	63	4.2	949	1 907	4.5	63	68	248	190	921	108	103		382
1970	811	258	112	141	370	71	656	3 739	65	848	145	64	4.0	917	1 948	4.4	62	65	239	181	904	110	99		363
1971	779	276	109	139	362	76	665	3 556	62	879	141	68	4.3	911	2 037	4.5	64	66	227	181	902	115	96		375
1972	701	265	104	135	347	76	666	3 258	59	875	141	68	4.7	893	2 075	4.1	63	64	214	175	834	112	91		380
1973	636	248	98	129	347	72	666	3 137	57	855	138	68	4.6	888	2 107	3.8	61	61	195	172	780	110	88		377
1974	626	245	97	123	346	71	682	3 160	62	799	144	69	4.2	887	2 044	3.9	59	60	186	172	737	110	83		383
1975	601	233	94	119	358	72	669	3 144	67	743	142	68	4.4	842	1 915	4.0	57	56	178	176	698	104	79		388
1976	603	228	87	120	365	65	662	3 163	67	720	147	68	4.3	807	1 845	3.9	55	53	177	187	676	99	74		390

Table I-1-2

Deaths per year by country

Year	Germany	Australia	Austria	Belgium	Canada	Denmark	Spain	United States	Finland	France	Greece	Ireland	Iceland	Italy	Japan	Luxemburg	New Zealand	Norway	Netherlands	Portugal	United Kingdom	Sweden	Switzerland	Turkey	Yugoslavia
1950	529	78	86	104	124	39	300	1 468	41	530	54	38	1.1	452	905	3.4	18	30	76	103	590	70	47		212
1951	544	82	88	108	126	38	322	1 501	40	562	58	42	1.1	486	839	3.5	19	28	77	106	633	68	50		235
1952	546	82	83	104	126	39	272	1 512	39	521	53	35	1.1	478	765	3.6	19	28	76	100	574	68	48		198
1953	578	80	83	106	128	39	274	1 531	40	553	57	35	1.1	476	773	3.7	18	28	81	97	577	70	50		212
1954	556	82	85	105	125	40	260	1 489	38	515	56	36	1.1	442	721	3.4	19	29	79	95	578	69	49		188
1955	582	82	85	108	128	38	269	1 537	40	523	55	37	1.1	447	694	3.5	19	29	81	100	596	68	50		200
1956	599	82	87	108	132	39	286	1 572	39	542	59	34	1.2	500	724	3.9	20	30	85	107	598	70	52		198
1957	615	82	90	107	137	40	290	1 641	41	528	62	34	1.2	484	752	3.8	21	31	83	102	591	73	51		190
1958	597	86	86	106	135	42	256	1 655	39	497	58	34	1.2	459	684	3.5	20	32	84	92	604	71	49		167
1959	606	89	88	104	140	42	264	1 663	39	506	61	34	1.2	455	690	3.6	21	32	86	98	606	71	50		181
1960	643	88	90	113	140	44	262	1 708	40	517	61	33	1.2	481	707	3.7	21	33	87	95	603	75	52		183
1961	628	89	86	106	141	43	256	1 703	41	497	64	35	1.2	460	696	3.6	22	33	88	100	632	74	51		167
1962	645	93	91	112	144	45	271	1 758	43	538	67	34	1.2	503	710	4.0	22	34	94	97	636	76	55		187
1963	673	95	92	116	147	46	275	1 815	42	554	67	33	1.3	514	675	3.9	22	37	96	98	655	77	57		170
1964	644	101	89	109	146	47	267	1 799	42	516	69	32	1.3	489	677	3.9	23	35	93	97	611	76	54		181
1965	678	100	94	115	149	48	268	1 830	45	540	67	33	1.3	517	704	4.1	23	35	98	96	628	78	56		171
1966	686	104	91	115	150	49	270	1 869	44	525	68	35	1.4	494	674	4.1	24	36	101	100	644	78	56		160
1967	687	103	95	115	150	47	274	1 861	44	540	72	31	1.4	508	679	4.1	23	36	100	96	617	80	55		174
1968	734	110	96	121	153	48	278	1 948	45	550	73	33	1.4	531	690	4.1	24	38	105	95	656	82	57		175
1969	744	106	99	119	155	48	297	1 934	46	571	72	33	1.5	530	698	4.2	24	38	108	101	660	83	58		187
1970	735	113	99	119	157	48	282	1 927	44	540	74	34	1.5	529	717	4.2	25	38	110	93	655	80	57		182
1971	731	111	97	119	157	49	302	1 930	46	552	74	31	1.5	515	693	4.4	24	39	110	99	645	83	58		179
1972	731	110	95	117	162	51	280	1 965	44	547	77	34	1.4	518	693	4.1	25	39	114	90	674	84	56		191
1973	731	111	93	118	164	51	297	1 974	43	557	78	33	1.5	544	713	4.2	25	40	111	95	670	86	57		182
1974	728	116	94	116	168	51	295	1 935	45	551	76	34	1.5	533	714	4.3	25	39	109	97	667	86	55		178
1975	749	109	96	119	166	51	288	1 894	44	558	80	34	1.4	556	706	4.4	25	40	114	97	662	88	56		185
1976	733	113	95	119	166	54	292	1 914	45	555	82	33	1.4	556	707	4.5	25	40	114	101	681	91	57		183

Table I-I-3

Total population per year by country

Year	Germany	Austria	Australia	Belgium		Denmark	Spain	United States	Finland	France	Greece	Ireland	Iceland
1950	49 983	6 935	8 179	8 640	13 712	4 269	27 868	152 271	4 009	41 562	7 566	2 969	144
1951	50 528	6 934	8 418	8 679	14 009	4 304	28 095	154 878	4 043	41 910	7 633	2 961	145
1952	50 859	6 949	8 634	8 737	14 459	4 334	28 332	157 553	4 069	42 210	7 733	2 953	148
1953	51 350	6 960	8 821	8 778	14 845	4 369	28 571	160 184	4 136	42 518	7 817	2 949	151
1954	51 880	6 969	8 996	8 820	15 287	4 406	28 812	163 026	4 186	42 785	7 893	2 921	154
1955	52 382	6 974	9 201	8 869	15 698	4 439	29 056	165 931	4 245	42 228	7 966	2 921	158
1956	53 008	6 952	9 421	8 924	16 081	4 466	29 301	168 903	4 282	43 627	8 031	2 898	161
1957	53 656	6 966	9 640	8 989	16 610	4 488	29 548	171 984	4 324	44 059	8 096	2 885	165
1958	54 292	6 987	9 842	9 058	17 080	4 515	29 798	174 882	4 360	44 563	8 173	2 853	169
1959	54 876	7 014	10 056	9 104	17 483	4 547	30 049	177 830	4 395	45 015	8 258	2 846	172
1960	55 585	7 048	10 275	9 154	17 870	4 581	30 303	180 671	4 430	45 465	8 327	2 832	176
1961	56 175	7 074	10 509	9 184	18 238	4 612	30 592	183 691	4 461	45 904	8 398	2 819	179
1962	56 837	7 130	10 700	9 221	18 583	4 648	30 917	186 538	4 491	46 422	8 448	2 885	182
1963	57 389	7 172	10 907	9 290	18 931	4 685	31 246	189 242	4 523	47 573	8 480	2 843	185
1964	57 971	7 215	11 122	9 378	19 291	4 722	31 578	191 889	4 549	48 133	8 510	2 863	190
1965	58 619	7 255	11 341	9 464	19 644	4 758	31 913	194 303	4 564	48 562	8 550	2 876	192
1966	59 148	7 290	11 599	9 528	20 015	4 800	32 253	196 560	4 581	48 954	8 614	2 884	196
1967	59 286	7 323	11 792	9 581	20 378	4 838	32 595	198 712	4 606	49 374	8 716	2 900	199
1968	59 500	7 349	12 009	9 619	20 701	4 865	33 942	200 706	4 626	49 723	8 741	2 913	201
1969	60 067	7 373	12 263	9 646	21 001	4 892	33 292	202 677	4 624	50 105	8 772	2 926	203
1970	60 651	7 391	12 507	9 651	21 297	4 929	33 646	204 878	4 606	50 524	8 792	2 950	205
1971	61 302	7 456	12 756	9 673	21 568	4 963	34 158	207 053	4 612	51 012	8 831	2 978	206
1972	61 672	7 495	12 959	9 711	21 820	4 992	34 564	208 846	4 640	51 485	8 889	3 014	209
1973	61 976	7 525	13 132	9 742	22 095	5 022	34 976	210 410	4 666	51 921	8 929	3 051	212
1974	62 054	7 533	13 338	9 772	22 446	5 045	35 392	211 894	4 691	52 340	8 962	3 089	215
1975	61 829	7 520	13 502	9 801	22 800	5 060	35 814	213 559	4 711	52 643	9 046	3 127	218
1976	61 531	7 513	13 916	9 818	22 993	5 073	36 240	215 142	4 727	52 853	9 067	3 162	220

Table I-I-3

Total population per year by country *(continued)*

Year	Italy		Luxemburg	New Zealand	Norway	Netherlands	Portugal	United Kingdom	Sweden	Switzerland	Turkey	Yugoslavia
1950	47 295	83 664	296	1 921	3 265	10 114	8 441	50 363	7 015	4 694	20 809	16 148
1951	47 540	85 076	297	1 938	3 296	10 264	8 476	50 574	7 071	4 749	21 352	16 477
1952	47 792	86 388	299	2 085	3 328	10 382	8 516	50 737	7 125	4 815	21 953	16 728
1953	48 121	87 558	301	2 075	3 362	10 494	8 552	50 880	7 171	4 878	22 571	17 003
1954	48 477	88 840	303	2 118	3 395	10 616	8 588	51 066	7 213	4 929	23 206	17 267
1955	48 789	89 879	305	2 165	3 429	10 751	8 692	51 221	7 262	4 977	23 859	17 636
1956	49 052	90 808	307	2 183	3 462	10 888	8 785	51 430	7 315	5 066	24 442	17 792
1957	49 311	91 595	308	2 233	3 494	11 026	8 851	51 657	7 364	5 130	25 252	18 005
1958	49 640	92 423	310	2 285	3 525	11 187	8 926	51 870	7 409	5 197	25 983	18 189
1959	50 023	93 311	312	2 335	3 556	11 348	8 997	52 157	7 447	5 263	26 735	18 421
1960	50 372	94 120	315	2 377	3 583	11 486	9 077	52 559	7 480	5 429	27 755	18 485
1961	50 675	94 956	317	2 427	3 615	11 639	8 986	52 932	7 520	5 434	28 231	18 613
1962	51 012	95 854	321	2 485	3 639	11 806	9 054	53 431	7 562	5 574	28 933	18 819
1963	51 385	96 782	324	2 537	3 667	11 966	9 109	53 755	7 604	5 694	29 655	19 029
1964	51 816	97 781	328	2 589	3 694	12 127	9 136	54 156	7 661	5 789	30 394	19 222
1965	52 159	98 851	331	2 635	3 723	12 295	9 122	54 520	7 734	5 857	31 391	19 434
1966	52 505	99 770	334	2 683	3 752	12 456	9 096	54 806	7 808	5 918	31 928	19 644
1967	52 830	100 839	335	2 728	3 785	12 598	9 110	55 112	7 868	5 992	32 784	19 840
1968	53 144	102 000	336	2 754	3 819	12 730	9 120	55 391	7 912	6 068	33 535	20 029
1969	53 490	103 261	337	2 780	3 851	12 878	9 075	55 643	7 908	6 137	34 375	20 209
1970	53 832	104 354	339	2 820	3 877	13 033	9 014	55 812	8 043	6270	35 667	20 371
1971	54 179	105 687	342	2 864	3 903	13 194	8 967	55 712	8 098	6 229	36 221	20 572
1972	54 646	107 179	347	2 913	3 933	13 329	8 974	55 891	8 122	6 282	37 537	20 772
1973	55 180	108 702	350	2 971	3 961	13 499	8 978	56 023	8 137	6 330	38 094	20 956
1974	55 645	110 158	355	3 032	3 985	13 545	9 218	56 066	8 161	6 363	39 129	21 155
1975	56 014	111 566	358	3 087	4 007	13 666	9 633	56 031	8 192	6 355	39 927	21 352
1976		112 768	357	3 138	4 026	13 774	9 694	55 959	8 222	6 316	40 888	21 520

Table I-I-4

Percentage breakdown of population by major age group in 1950, 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970 and 1975 in the 25 OECD countries

	0-4 years						5-14 years					
	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975
Canada	11.9	12.4	12.5	11.5	8.7	8.0	17.8	19.7	21.1	21.9	21.5	18.6
United States	10.8	11.2	11.3	10.2	8.4	7.6	16.1	18.3	19.8	20.3	19.9	17.5
Japan	13.4	10.6	8.5	8.3	8.5	9.1	22.1	23.0	21.7	17.6	15.5	15.4
Turkey	14.8	16.1	15.4	16.8	16.1	16.1	23.6	23.4	25.9	25.3	25.8	25.6
Denmark	9.7	8.4	8.0	8.2	7.9	6.7	16.6	18.1	17.2	15.5	15.4	15.5
Finland	12.5	10.5	9.3	8.6	7.6	6.3	17.5	20.1	21.1	18.5	17.0	15.5
Iceland	12.6	13.3	13.1	12.0	10.2	9.2	18.2	20.3	21.6	22.4	22.2	20.1
Ireland	10.6	10.3	10.7	11.0	10.5	10.4	18.3	19.7	20.4	20.2	20.6	19.9
Norway	9.8	8.9	8.6	8.4	8.5	8.2	14.7	16.8	17.3	16.4	16.0	16.3
Sweden	8.6	7.4	6.7	7.2	7.2	6.8	14.8	16.4	15.3	13.8	13.6	13.9
United Kingdom	8.6	7.5	7.9	8.7	8.1	7.5	13.7	15.3	15.4	14.5	16.1	16.3
Greece	9.8	9.2	9.1	8.4	8.8	7.0	18.8	17.2	17.4	17.0	16.1	16.2
Italy	9.2	8.2	8.5	8.8	8.5	7.6	17.1	16.5	16.5	15.5	15.9	16.3
Portugal	10.5	10.3	10.1	10.0	9.1	8.0	18.9	18.4	19.0	19.1	19.3	18.4
Spain	9.8	9.5	9.9	9.6	9.5	8.8	17.3	17.7	17.5	17.8	18.4	18.0
Yugoslavia	11.0	11.9	10.4	9.7	9.0	8.5	20.1	18.5	20.1	20.0	18.5	17.2
Austria	7.4	7.0	8.1	8.8	8.2	7.0	15.4	15.3	14.0	14.4	16.3	16.6
Belgium	8.0	7.9	8.2	8.2	7.5	6.8	12.9	13.9	15.3	15.6	16.2	15.4
France	9.5	9.0	8.8	8.7	8.3	8.1	13.2	15.4	17.6	16.9	16.5	16.0
RFA	6.9	7.2	7.8	8.5	7.7	5.8	16.4	14.0	13.5	14.0	15.4	15.9
Luxembourg	6.4	6.9	8.0	7.7	7.0	6.5	13.5	12.8	13.4	14.8	15.0	14.4
Netherlands	11.9	10.3	10.1	9.9	9.1	7.6	17.4	19.6	19.9	18.4	18.2	17.7
Switzerland	8.7	8.1	8.2	8.8	7.8	6.8	14.8	16.1	15.5	15.3	15.5	15.7
Australia	11.0	10.9	10.9	10.5	9.7	10.0	16.0	18.5	19.7	19.7	19.7	18.2
New Zealand	12.2	11.8	12.2	11.5	10.5	10.1	16.9	19.4	20.7	21.1	21.2	19.9

	15-64 years						65 years and over					
	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975
Canada	62.6	60.2	59.0	59.0	59.0	65.1	7.7	7.7	7.5	7.7	7.9	8.4
United States	64.9	61.7	59.7	60.0	61.9	64.5	8.1	8.8	9.2	9.5	9.8	10.4
Japan	59.6	61.1	64.1	67.8	68.9	67.7	4.9	5.3	5.7	6.2	7.1	7.8
Turkey	58.4	57.1	55.2	53.8	53.8	53.9	3.3	3.4	3.5	4.1	4.3	4.5
Denmark	64.6	63.7	64.2	64.9	64.4	64.3	9.1	9.8	10.6	11.3	12.3	13.5
Finland	63.4	62.5	62.4	65.0	66.2	67.3	6.7	6.9	7.2	7.9	9.2	10.9
Iceland	61.5	59.5	57.4	57.3	58.3	61.9	7.7	7.0	8.0	8.3	8.9	8.8
Ireland	60.4	59.2	57.7	57.6	57.7	58.7	10.7	10.9	11.2	11.2	11.2	11.0
Norway	65.9	64.2	63.0	63.3	62.6	62.1	9.7	10.2	11.1	12.0	12.9	13.2
Sweden	66.3	65.3	66.0	66.4	65.5	64.2	10.3	10.9	12.0	12.7	13.7	15.0
United Kingdom	66.9	65.9	65.1	64.8	62.8	62.5	10.7	11.3	11.7	12.0	12.9	13.6
Greece	64.6	66.1	65.3	65.7	64.0	64.1	6.8	7.4	8.3	8.9	11.2	12.7
Italy	65.4	66.1	65.8	65.9	65.0	64.3	8.3	9.1	9.3	9.9	10.7	11.8
Portugal	63.5	64.1	62.9	62.6	61.9	62.6	7.0	7.3	8.0	9.4	9.7	10.9
Spain	65.6	65.0	64.4	64.1	62.3	62.4	7.3	7.8	8.2	8.6	9.8	10.7
Yugoslavia	63.2	63.6	63.2	63.6	64.8	65.8	5.7	6.0	6.3	6.7	7.8	8.6
Austria	66.8	66.5	65.8	63.5	61.4	61.3	10.4	11.3	12.0	13.3	14.1	15.1
Belgium	68.1	66.7	64.5	63.5	63.0	63.6	11.1	11.5	12.0	12.6	13.4	14.2
France	65.9	64.0	62.0	62.3	62.3	62.5	11.4	11.6	11.6	12.1	12.9	13.3
RFA	67.3	68.6	67.8	65.5	63.7	64.0	9.4	10.1	10.8	11.9	13.2	14.3
Luxembourg	70.3	69.8	67.8	65.7	65.5	65.2	9.8	10.5	10.8	11.8	12.5	13.9
Netherlands	63.0	61.7	61.0	62.2	62.6	63.9	7.7	8.4	9.0	9.6	10.2	10.7
Switzeland	66.9	65.9	66.3	65.4	65.3	65.5	9.6	9.9	10.1	10.5	11.4	12.3
Australia	65.4	62.7	61.4	61.9	62.8	63.3	8.1	8.4	8.5	8.5	8.3	8.5
New Zealand	62.0	59.8	58.5	59.2	59.8	61.2	9.0	9.0	8.6	8.1	8.5	8.9

Source : Selected World Demographic Indicators by countries 1950-2000 (ESA/P/WP/55. 28 mai 1975).

Nations general publications, often relate to several years back. In order to avoid being out-of-date on publication, we have referred to the monthly bulletins put out by the majority of statistical services. These often give estimates or partial figures, but subsequent rectifications are minor.

We preferred classification by subject rather than by country, since the present report is concerned with inter-country comparisons rather than demographic coherence within any one country. We begin with movement data, followed by total population figures and finally age pyramids.

1. BIRTHS

With the exception of Japan, the OECD countries have experienced similar trends since 1945 (see Table I-I-1). To begin with, a rapid rise in the number of births followed the war.

In the case of most countries, this can be seen as a « catch-up », as it was termed by Hajnal reporting for the Royal Commission in the United Kingdom : « When peace comes, soldiers and prisoners-of-war return home and get married ; they at once start a family in order to catch up on the time lost during the war ». The same phenomenon had been observed in 1919 and 1920.

However, after 1950 births continued at their high level. In just a few northern countries — the Netherlands, Finland, Denmark and Norway — there was a slight downturn. But in the overseas English-speaking countries, which have a high proportion of young adults, the upward trend of births continued until 1960.

We have here a set of phenomena that tighten and homogenize the field of the family : reduction in the number of persons remaining single ; lower marriage age for men and women, thus shortening the period between childhood and parenthood ; shorter intervals between the births of the first children ; reduction in the number of voluntarily infertile couples who were still so numerous between the two wars.

From 1950 to 1970, no type classification can be applied to the trends. The simplest thing seems then to distinguish between :

- countries in which the rise in the birth rate continued : Australia, Ireland, Norway ;
- countries in which the fall in the birth rate was slow but steady : Yugoslavia, Finland ;
- countries in which births remained stable : Greece, the Netherlands, Iceland ;
- one country, Japan, in which births fell until 1961 and then increased steadily.

In all the other countries, there was a rising trend, followed by a turning-point during the sixties and a fairly slow but steady decline. In chronological order, the high points occurred in :

- 1957-60 in the United States ;
- 1959-61 in Canada ;
- 1959-64 in Belgium ;
- 1961 in New Zealand ;
- 1964-66 in Denmark, Spain, France, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Germany (FR).

These trend reversals are surprising when we consider the population structure. In the sixties, the children born immediately after the war had become adults. They married and started their families, so that there should have been a rise in births, where as the contrary occurred, with all the concomitant signs of the smaller family : longer intervals between births, cessation of the fall in the marriage age, reduction in the number of large families.

This pattern became more marked as from 1970, since the slow decline in the birth rate gathered pace in most countries, which now have fewer births than 30 years ago.

This description raises more questions than it answers. Indeed these trends cannot be linked with conventional economic or social orders of magnitude. It is therefore very risky to attempt any predictions. However, it may be noted that up until 1970 the majority of statistical offices published « high » forecasts in which large numbers of births kept the population growing. Now the trend is the other way : no country expects births to increase again, but perhaps they are wrong like they were ten years ago.

The birth rates vary approximately like total number of births, for the change in population numbers remains moderate ; they enable the various OECD countries to be compared but do not alter the impression given by each country's trend.

All these rates are low compared with those in earlier centuries and in the Third World, where they are as high as 40-50 per thousand. Substantial differences remain, however, and no convergence is really discernible. The longstanding low birthrate in certain countries continues, while rates are subsiding in other countries where they used to be at a high level. But the opposite is just as true : Ireland and Finland had the same high rate in 1951, while in 1975 one was twice as high as the other.

We have the feeling, unfortunately, that these rates imperfectly reflect the phenomena of birth. By giving each member of the population the same weight, they allot them the same importance in natality. But it will be readily agreed that it is the adults who are the decisive factor and that they should be given more importance in the calculation : this is the purpose of the various fertility rates by age which will be examined in Chapter III.

2. DEATHS

These imperfections are still more apparent in the calculation of death rates. Since the majority of deaths occur at a mature age (after 50), the proportion of older people is much more indicative of the number of deaths than total population. So

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Table I-I-5
Age structures in OECD countries at present

Continent, country or area, sex, date and urban/rural residence	Age (in years)									
	All ages	− 1	1 − 4	5 − 9	10 − 14	15 − 19	20 − 24	25 − 29	30 − 34	35 − 39
Germany, Federal Republic of										
1 VII 1973										
Total	61 975 900	655 300	3 266 500	5 093 500	4 855 900	4 292 700	4 269 900	3 885 400	4 968 500	4 603 00
Male	29 646 300	335 500	1 674 500	2 612 600	2 491 200	2 205 500	2 182 200	2 026 400	2 612 200	2 411 90
Female	32 329 700	319 700	1 592 100	2 480 900	2 364 800	2 087 200	2 087 700	1 859 000	2 356 200	2 191 00
Australia										
30 VI 1973										
Total	13 131 599	251 452	1 025 828	1 192 910	1 258 746	1 160 473	1 109 695	1 049 846	843 170	753 03
Male	6 594 482	128 751	523 435	611 754	645 455	593 634	566 525	538 531	434 125	385 69
Female	6 537 117	122 701	502 393	581 156	613 291	566 839	543 170	511 315	409 045	367 33
Austria										
1 VII 1974										
Total	7 480 158	95 689	422 375	623 317	633 134	552 882	501 792	493 179	557 327	416 31
Male	3 519 613	48 998	216 202	318 961	323 944	282 230	253 210	249 934	281 165	209 51
Female	3 960 545	46 691	206 173	304 356	309 190	270 652	248 582	243 245	276 162	206 80
Belgium										
31 XII 1973										
Total	9 756 590	128 807	553 727	753 535	791 228	762 558	730 756	694 535	555 255	601 02
Male	4 774 403	66 096	284 041	385 297	404 310	389 155	374 651	355 539	281 553	302 01
Female	4 982 187	62 711	269 686	368 238	386 918	373 403	356 105	338 996	273 702	299 00
Canada										
1 VI 1974										
Total	22 446 300	342 000	1 423 800	1 979 400	2 352 100	2 277 100	2 032 700	1 856 300	1 505 700	1 274 90
Male	11 216 900	175 800	730 000	1 012 900	1 202 800	1 161 600	1 022 200	926 500	768 400	648 00
Female	11 229 400	166 200	693 800	966 500	1 149 300	1 115 500	1 010 500	929 800	737 300	627 00
Denmark										
1 VII 1973										
Total	5 021 861	72 715	290 320	410 394	375 599	372 169	382 267	428 265	334 132	290 65
Male	2 491 488	37 190	149 062	210 312	191 869	191 496	196 406	221 179	171 011	146 49
Female	2 530 373	35 525	141 258	200 082	183 730	180 673	185 861	207 086	163 121	144 15
Spain	34 037 349	3 218 034		3 243 346	3 017 383	2 699 803	2 540 334	2 236 032	2 070 131	2 408 42
31 XII 1970	16 641 802	1 658 280		1 651 849	1 542 938	1 363 199	1 278 542	1 116 655	1 021 588	1 200 15
Total	17 396 047	1 559 754		1 591 497	1 474 445	1 336 604	1 261 792	1 119 377	1 048 543	1 208 27
United States										
1 VII 1974										
Total	211 390 000	3 006 000	13 298 000	17 592 000	20 719 000	20 760 000	18 507 000	16 131 000	13 487 000	1 396 00
Male	102 945 000	1 538 000	6 791 000	8 964 000	10 564 000	10 508 000	9 196 000	7 983 000	6 637 000	5 545 00
Female	108 446 000	1 468 000	6 508 000	8 629 000	10 155 000	10 252 000	9 311 000	8 147 000	6 851 000	5 851 00
Finland										
31 XII 1973										
Total	4 678 761		1 058 250			408 523	431 100	423 755	304 540	284 59
Male	2 262 142		540 158			208 330	221 845	217 851	155 118	144 19
Female	2 416 619		518 092			200 193	209 255	205 904	149 422	140 39
France										
1 VII 1972										
Total	51 702 987	867 946	3 353 329	3 865 189	4 178 569	4 139 709	4 393 785	3 672 125	2 942 159	3 186 71
Male	25 291 788	444 662	1 714 287	1 971 787	2 126 271	2 104 681	2 259 542	1 913 310	1 533 836	1 636 56
Female	26 411 199	423 284	1 639 042	1 893 402	2 052 298	2 035 028	2 134 243	1 758 815	1 408 323	1 550 14
Greece										
1 VII 1974										
Total	8 962 023	137 911	561 579	755 831	710 541	690 575	628 311	608 910	515 372	625 93
Male	4 388 216	71 227	290 409	388 642	366 045	353 958	326 259	300 132	246 551	295 71
Female	4 573 807	66 684	271 170	367 189	344 496	336 617	302 052	308 778	268 821	330 22
Ireland										
1 VII 1974										
Total	3 085 600	333 700		318 400	309 300	282 200	232 800	195 100	166 900	151 20
Male	1 547 800	170 900		162 800	157 700	143 900	118 900	99 300	84 100	76 60
Female	1 537 800	162 800		155 600	151 600	138 300	113 900	95 800	81 900	74 60
Iceland										
31 XII 1974										
Total	216 695	4 165	17 159	21 539	22 937	22 238	19 452	16 612	12 971	10 86
Male	109 537	2 132	8 824	11 023	11 696	11 413	10 121	8 642	6 577	5 50
Female	107 158	2 033	8 335	10 516	11 241	10 825	9 331	7 970	6 394	5 36
Italy										
1 I 1974										
Total	55 179 995	871 308	3 495 472	4 647 090	4 409 137	3 975 005	3 888 847	3 868 354	3 722 079	3 728 29
Male	26 990 995	446 913	1 793 951	2 383 471	2 259 410	2 025 519	1 983 165	1 949 390	1 851 697	1 844 51
Female	28 189 000	424 395	1 701 521	2 263 619	2 149 727	1 949 486	1 905 682	1 918 964	1 870 382	1 883 77

Table I-I-5
Age structures in OECD countries at present *(continued)*

Age (in years)										
40 – 44	45 – 49	50 – 54	55 – 59	60 – 64	65 – 69	70 – 74	75 – 79	80 – 84	85 and over	Unknown
3 869 700	3 779 700	3 511 500	2 694 100	3 634 500	3 278 900	2 516 600	1 567 200	823 200	409 800	–
2 004 600	1 747 000	1 466 500	1 110 500	1 495 000	1 359 500	990 500	523 900	262 600	134 100	–
1 865 100	2 032 700	2 045 100	1 583 600	2 139 600	1 919 400	1 526 100	1 043 300	560 500	275 600	–
762 875	780 286	709 545	604 260	526 415	408 102	302 979	199 715	121 826	70 446	–
393 729	399 832	357 498	298 164	256 080	191 694	130 885	74 757	42 362	21 572	–
369 146	380 454	352 047	306 096	270 335	216 408	172 094	124 958	79 464	48 874	–
427 838	456 063	460 579	294 827	433 094	400 475	327 042	212 579	112 248	59 400	–
214 826	212 878	190 212	122 350	180 352	163 847	127 325	72 432	34 281	16 952	–
213 012	243 185	270 367	172 477	252 742	236 628	199 717	140 147	77 967	42 448	–
647 892	640 904	611 135	414 809	523 940	478 099	389 735	259 412	141 031	78 212	–
324 018	317 741	299 997	199 215	244 434	211 374	160 651	98 464	49 528	26 320	–
323 874	323 163	311 138	215 594	279 506	266 725	229 084	160 948	91 503	51 892	–
1 273 800	1 244 400	1 179 100	967 400	854 500	672 800	501 700	343 300	212 300	152 900	–
651 400	622 900	579 000	472 100	417 100	318 200	228 600	142 300	83 900	53 500	–
622 500	621 500	600 100	495 300	437 400	354 600	273 100	201 000	128 500	99 400	–
277 449	290 704	299 401	277 969	272 409	228 800	179 422	126 252	71 566	41 378	–
138 322	143 767	147 363	135 599	130 816	105 234	78 169	52 515	28 638	16 044	–
139 127	146 937	152 038	142 370	141 593	123 566	101 253	73 737	42 928	25 334	–
2 329 726	2 137 402	1 712 239	1 632 004	1 494 522	1 282 631	913 437		1 102 397		–
1 149 914	1 054 001	805 085	752 485	683 310	570 724	379 727		413 347		–
1 179 812	1 083 401	907 154	879 519	811 212	711 907	533 710		689 050		–
11 358 000	11 847 000	11 966 000	10 302 000	9 205 000	7 835 000	5 702 000	3 929 000	2 606 000	1 744 000	–
5 545 000	5 740 000	5 758 000	4 912 000	4 299 000	3 473 000	2 411 000	1 551 000	954 000	577 000	–
5 814 000	6 107 000	6 208 000	5 390 000	4 906 000	4 362 000	3 291 000	2 378 000	1 652 000	1 166 000	–
282 789	285 700	256 655	231 831	236 530	195 521	137 329		141 648		–
141 885	139 323	115 503	100 795	101 370	78 941	51 334		45 496		–
140 904	146 377	141 152	131 036	135 160	116 580	85 995		96 152		–
3 374 302	3 263 253	2 736 463	2 083 853	2 641 251	2 378 250	1 965 626	1 340 027	803 583	516 855	–
1 712 942	1 623 301	1 333 865	990 082	1 224 845	1 056 848	805 442	462 195	243 173	134 153	–
1 661 360	1 639 952	1 402 598	1 093 771	1 416 406	1 321 402	1 160 184	877 832	560 410	382 702	–
655 575	617 587	477 345	436 625	465 344	393 821	305 164	190 060	105 083	80 446	–
318 605	298 458	229 707	205 221	219 972	186 084	136 349	80 985	43 270	30 625	
336 970	319 129	247 638	231 404	245 372	207 737	168 815	109 075	61 818	49 821	–
150 000	154 400	157 000	153 000	139 300	118 100	98 700	68 200	36 900	21 500	–
75 500	76 800	78 100	76 700	69 800	57 900	45 500	29 500	15 600	8 300	–
74 500	77 600	78 900	76 300	69 500	60 200	53 200	38 700	21 300	13 200	–
11 553	10 975	10 157	8 642	7 686	6 506	5 286	4 027	2 596	1 329	–
5 862	5 621	5 128	4 292	3 721	3 112	2 462	1 781	1 097	532	–
5 691	5 354	5 029	4 350	3 965	3 394	2 824	2 246	1 499	797	–
3 698 742	3 643 282	3 301 135	2 416 560	3 000 478	2 471 482	1 835 009	1 154 206	676 662	376 855	–
1 827 965	1 784 940	1 567 359	1 139 782	1 409 632	1 120 139	781 713	436 830	249 808	134 797	–
1 870 777	1 858 342	1 733 776	1 276 778	1 590 846	1 351 343	1 053 296	717 376	426 854	242 058	–

Table I-1-5
Age structures in OECD countries at present *(continued)*

Continent, country or area, sex, date and urban/rural residence	Age (in years)									
	All ages	−1	1−4	5−9	10−14	15−19	20−24	25−29	30−34	35−39
Japan										
1XI 1974										
Total	110 049 000	2 046 000	7 977 000	8 768 000	8 060 000	8 075 000	9 595 000	10 047 000	9 294 000	3 323 0
Male	54 010 000	1 054 000	4 105 000	4 487 000	4 116 000	4 108 000	4 803 000	4 982 000	4 609 000	4 150 0
Female	56 039 000	992 000	3 873 000	4 281 000	3 944 000	3 966 000	4 793 000	5 065 000	4 685 000	4 372 0
Luxembourg										
31 XII 1974										
Total	357 400	3 894	16 944	24 977	26 387	27 107	27 550	27 336	24 809	24 7
Male	177 233	2 018	8 719	12 767	13 417	13 947	13 987	14 828	13 177	13 0
Female	180 167	1 876	8 225	12 210	12 970	13 160	13 563	12 508	11 632	11 7
New Zealand										
31 XII 1974										
Total	3 094 700	308 350	306 210	323 670	296 000	255 520	240 290	199 270	164 650	
Male	1 548 900	157 600	156 400	165 560	151 500	130 940	121 250	101 360	83 490	
Female	1 545 800	150 750	149 810	158 110	144 500	124 580	119 040	97 910	81 160	
Norway										
31 XII 1974										
Total	3 997 525	59 176	254 382	331 622	310 159	309 062	301 178	315 411	244 902	200 5
Male	1 986 215	30 093	130 350	170 339	159 014	158 137	154 829	163 167	126 133	101 5
Female	2 011 310	29 083	124 032	161 283	151 145	150 925	146 349	152 244	118 769	98 9
Netherlands										
1 VII 1974										
Total	13 545 056	138 831	896 392	1 202 605	1 217 661	1 153 105	1 123 950	1 164 957	899 237	799 5
Male	6 746 855	96 622	458 400	615 582	622 572	589 266	573 888	601 758	469 370	414 7
Female	6 798 201	92 209	437 992	587 023	595 089	563 839	550 062	563 199	429 867	384 8
Portugal										
1 VII 1974										
Total	8 782 100	164 600	618 600	794 800	816 400	770 700	697 300	564 400	490 500	530 0
Male	4 138 300	83 900	315 600	401 200	413 500	385 700	332 100	255 900	220 900	242 6
Female	4 643 800	80 700	303 000	393 600	402 900	385 000	365 200	308 500	269 600	287 4
United Kingdom										
England and Wakes										
30 VI 1975										
Total	49 218 700	3 439 600		3 903 000	4 007 300	3 567 700	3 376 600	3 706 000	3 065 200	2 865 4
Male	23 967 900	1 770 000		2 002 700	2 056 000	1 824 800	1 717 600	1 870 500	1 554 600	1 457 7
Female	25 250 800	1 669 600		1 900 300	1 951 300	1 742 900	1 659 000	1 835 500	1 510 600	1 407 7
Northern Ireland										
30 VI 1975										
Total	1 537 200	138 600	152 600	153 800	135 900	111 500	104 000	95 200	84 700	
Male	760 500	71 800	78 800	79 400	70 300	58 700	54 200	48 700	42 800	
Female	776 700	66 800	73 800	74 400	65 600	52 800	49 800	46 500	41 900	
Scotland										
30 VI 1975										
Total	5 206 200	375 500	441 700	462 900	423 100	368 200	368 500	306 000	296 300	
Male	2 503 900	192 900	227 100	237 100	215 700	185 200	185 600	152 700	145 500	
Female	2 702 300	182 600	214 600	225 800	207 400	183 000	182 900	153 300	150 800	
Sweden										
1 VII 1974										
Total	8 160 560	108 980	442 115	595 380	544 016	537 359	576 977	675 260	569 369	463 9
Male	4 061 166	55 982	226 718	305 529	279 128	275 442	293 746	346 762	294 899	237 3
Female	4 099 394	52 998	215 397	289 851	264 888	261 917	283 231	328 498	274 470	226 6
Switzerland										
1 I 1975										
Total	6 375 500	79 400	357 300	499 800	503 700	474 600	478 400	526 000	490 900	425 5
Male	3 111 800	40 800	183 700	255 900	256 500	240 400	235 500	264 300	251 300	216 6
Female	3 263 700	38 600	173 600	243 900	247 200	234 200	242 900	261 700	239 600	208 9
Turkey										
25 X 1970										
Total	35 666 549	835 675	4 266 187	5 195 977	4 590 954	3 700 859	2 895 376	2 279 552	2 119 088	232 0
Male	18 063 001	421 508	2 163 391	2 666 016	2 414 885	1 893 407	1 532 288	1 114 435	988 024	131 5
Female	17 603 548	414 167	2 102 796	2 529 961	2 176 069	1 807 452	1 363 088	1 165 117	1 131 064	100 4
Yugoslavia										
30 VI 1973										
Total	20 956 000	367 000	1 431 000	1 835 000	1 870 000	1 962 000	1 897 000	1 400 000	1 437 000	1 581 0
Male	10 300 000	189 000	735 000	939 000	958 000	1 001 000	972 000	711 000	718 000	791 0
Female	10 656 000	178 000	696 000	896 000	912 000	961 000	925 000	689 000	719 000	790 0

Table I-I-5
Age structures in OECD countries at present *(continued)*

Age (in years)										
40 – 44	45 – 49	50 – 54	55 – 59	60 – 64	65 – 69	70 – 74	75 – 79	80 – 84	85 and over	Unknown
8 050 000	7 104 000	5 571 000	4 506 000	4 178 000	3 285 000	2 503 000	1 541 000	759 000	368 000	–
4 030 000	3 502 000	2 467 000	2 022 000	1 900 000	1 508 000	1 119 000	647 000	286 000	115 000	–
4 020 000	3 602 000	3 104 000	2 485 000	2 278 000	1 777 000	1 384 000	895 000	472 000	253 000	–
25 398	25 243	20 918	16 213	19 427	17 505	13 531	8 620	4 419	2 347	–
13 311	12 960	9 388	7 756	8 954	7 673	5 569	3 276	1 621	814	–
12 087	12 283	11 530	8 457	10 473	9 832	7 962	5 344	2 798	1 533	–
159 450	160 300	157 500	130 990	125 050	100 850	74 930	46 920	44 720		–
81 590	82 510	78 990	63 420	60 220	47 500	33 150	18 420	15 000		–
77 860	77 790	78 510	67 570	64 830	53 380	41 780	28 500	29 720		–
200 712	221 202	255 150	233 200	217 607	185 658	151 263	108 651	61 996	35 674	–
101 767	111 501	127 000	114 075	104 884	85 387	65 613	44 872	24 355	13 156	–
98 945	109 701	128 150	119 125	112 723	100 271	85 650	63 779	37 641	22 518	–
773 783	741 526	733 323	618 423	588 832	510 960	400 283	277 779	161 236	92 598	–
392 412	366 066	356 482	297 292	275 216	229 341	171 711	113 807	65 223	37 139	–
381 371	375 460	376 841	321 131	313 616	281 619	228 572	163 972	96 013	55 459	–
553 200	537 000	499 300	418 500	430 400	355 000	269 100	148 800	83 700	39 800	–
257 300	250 500	233 500	194 200	194 800	151 600	108 000	58 400	28 200	10 400	–
295 900	286 500	265 800	224 300	235 600	203 400	161 100	90 400	55 500	29 400	–
2 779 600	2 903 900	3 136 800	2 682 900	2 817 300	2 512 900	1 965 600	1 287 400	736 900	464 600	–
1 404 800	1 447 800	1 542 500	1 291 400	1 323 400	1 123 700	801 600	442 100	221 900	114 800	–
1 374 800	1 456 100	1 594 300	1 391 500	1 493 900	1 389 200	1 164 000	845 300	515 000	349 800	–
80 500	81 600	82 400	73 000	73 000	62 400	49 100	32 800	16 700	9 400	–
39 400	39 400	39 800	35 400	33 800	27 300	20 000	12 300	5 700	2 700	–
41 100	42 200	42 600	37 600	39 200	35 100	29 100	20 500	11 000	6 700	–
295 100	305 000	314 600	272 400	287 100	256 000	197 900	126 500	68 700	40 800	–
144 400	147 900	151 100	126 500	130 400	111 100	77 900	42 100	20 300	10 500	–
150 700	157 100	163 500	145 900	156 700	144 900	120 000	84 400	48 400	30 300	–
446 138	478 010	537 039	488 292	487 079	427 350	336 182	232 923	135 022	79 087	–
224 316	238 876	267 940	241 918	238 643	201 629	150 810	98 845	53 242	29 408	–
221 822	239 134	269 099	246 374	248 436	225 721	185 372	134 078	81 780	49 679	–
403 900	377 200	363 400	293 200	314 100	283 100	224 700	152 200	83 400	44 700	–
201 900	183 500	175 800	141 200	146 100	124 600	92 500	57 600	29 200	14 400	–
202 000	193 700	187 600	152 000	168 000	158 500	132 200	94 600	54 200	30 300	–
1 796 983	1 219 083	975 418	961 935	1 015 806	652 154	483 207	194 715	123 710	89 462	38 367
904 689	637 290	465 754	513 288	483 070	328 568	227 094	85 175	43 237	31 343	17 960
892 294	581 793	509 664	448 647	532 736	323 586	256 113	109 540	80 473	58 119	20 407
1 572 000	1 323 000	1 004 000	629 000	904 000	724 000	542 000	260 000	133 000	85 000	–
784 000	612 000	446 000	280 000	413 000	333 000	235 000	104 000	49 000	30 000	–
788 000	711 000	558 000	349 000	491 000	391 000	307 000	156 000	84 000	55 000	–

the crude data on deaths (Table I-I-2) point to a conflict between increased longevity and the rising number of older people. Wherever population growth is small and the standard of living high, the death statistics are going to be higher than in countries where the death rate is declining and the population is young as a result of vigorous demographic growth. Thus, the increasing number of deaths in the Nordic countries contrasts with their reduction or stability in the Mediterranean countries.

Annual death rates hardly permit such comparison because of these structural defects : they rose in the Netherlands between 1960 and 1975 because of population aging and fell in France because of rejuvenation. In any event, the trends are steady, and mortality is now a backcloth, having receded from the foreground it held in times of pestilence, famine and war, those three great evils that used to decimate populations.

3. TOTAL POPULATION AND BALANCE OF MIGRATION

The real increase in a population consists of a natural increase, which is the excess of births over deaths, and the balance of migration (difference between total arrivals of immigrants and total departures of emigrants). This real increase has often been greater than the natural increase because of a surplus balance of migration in many OECD countries : permanent migration to overseas English-speaking countries, or temporary migration of workers to European countries. The quarter century between 1945 and 1970 saw the greatest ever increase in population for the OECD countries as a whole, excluding Japan. This growth was unevenly distributed between countries (Table I-I-3)

The increase was greatest in Turkey (70 per cent), followed by the non-European countries (nearly 50 per cent in Australia, New Zealand and Canada), and as a consequence it was small in the United Kingdom (10 per cent), Belgium, Luxembourg and the Nordic countries and nil in Ireland. In the other countries, the increase was between 10 and 20 per cent, but the respective shares of the natural increase and the balance of migration differed a great deal there and call for more detailed analysis.

— Certain countries have had a large natural surplus since the war but have been a source of migration overseas or migration of workers to other OECD countries. Such is the case for all the Mediterranean countries, in which the natural increase remained greater than 1 per cent per year up to 1970.

— A large number of workers from those countries have settled in Western Europe : France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany and Austria. The populations of this second group of countries, which had a smaller natural increase (around 0.5 per cent per year), were thus able to grow more quickly than those of the first.

— The other European countries have benefited less from these migratory flows ; they have been affected by emigration overseas and their population growth has been fairly small.

— The Netherlands and Norway are the exceptions because they have had a large natural surplus.

— Ireland, in spite of a natural increase of more than 1 per cent, is still a country of high emigration.

Caution should therefore be exercised in interpreting the demographic balances : an apparent status quo in the *present* (or *de facto*) population of countries indicates greater changes in the population of *origin*. Finally, a number of political events have been responsible for considerable shifts of population : division of Germany in 1945, decolonisation, civil or external wars in Cyprus and Lebanon, or simply the expulsion of foreign residents.

These developments have quite profoundly changed the age structure of the OECD countries. As the world wars had already left scars of two types — deaths during the fighting and fewer births — the age pyramids are very irregular in the majority of countries.

It seemed useful to show the trend but also the current state of these pyramids in a fairly simple way.

4. AGE PYRAMIDS

We have first of all traced the trend of the main age groups in each country since 1950. We have divided the under-15 age group in such a way as to isolate the very youngest children (0-4 years). Table I-I-4 shows how these main age groups have evolved by five-year periods up to 1975.

Nearly everywhere the trace of the recent decline in fertility is seen in the first age group (0-4 years). The second group (5-14 years) has changed very little, other than in the case of those countries where there was a sharp increase in births after World War II (United Kingdom, France, Belgium).

The third age group, which encompasses the working population (15-64 years), has also remained very stable. Nearly all the countries resemble one another in this respect, since in 19 out of 25 the proportion of adults is between 62 and 66 per cent.

Finally, in nearly every country the proportion of old people (over 65 years) is increasing, but the movement is slow and not very pronounced as yet.

What do these old people have to do with early childhood, one might ask ? The relationship is a fairly clear one in fact, since at this stage in their lives they are also grandparents and great-grandparents. So, with the combination of declining natality and declining mortality, young children will increasingly come to live in a world of vertical relationships which, in a sense, offset the decrease in « horizontal » relationships of siblingship and with first cousins. These observations can be developed through a study of more detailed age pyramids. The most recent have been reproduced in Table I-I-5.

In these pyramids be can read the effect on age structure of the events that constitute population dynamics :

- migration, according to whether it concerns an emigration or an immigration country, is shown by a dent or a bulge in the male pyramid between 20 and 40 years of age ;
- the trend of births over the last 30 years may be read almost exactly in the first 30 age-cohorts of the pyramids since mortality between 1 and 30 years of age is slight.

Beneath the apparent diversity there is a number of common elements :

1. The trend in the main age groups reveals an aging of the population structure. Since these populations have increased since the war, we thus have an illustration of the declining death rate.
2. The recent fall in births has made the base of the pyramid contract.

The combination of these two phenomena, migration aside, thus leaves the median fraction of the population more or less constant. The burden on the working population (or the dependency ratio) has not therefore been changed by this development.

3. The two world wars have left their mark on almost all the pyramids. The most visible concerns the age-group born between 1940 and 1945, which was smaller everywhere.
4. The predominance of women in the oldest age groups is increasing for two reasons : the aftermath of the deaths in the 1914-18 war, and the widening gap between male and female mortality.

Chapter II

VALUE AND LIMITATIONS OF GENERAL DATA

The data in the preceding chapter provide a conventional introduction to the demographic landscape.

Having flown over those great land masses to which total births and deaths may be likened, we now want to come down close enough to be able to see the landscape in its smallest details. Yet the scene remains tantalisingly blurred to the questing observer. Why does this opaqueness not disappear ? We shall try to find the answer by examining all the reservations and the special cases which the statistical tables indicate in their footnotes and references.

Establishing that there is this imprecision does not explain it. Is it so serious not to be able to determine certain values exactly, since one does not combine them in mathematical formulae ? Is one not rather seeking orders of magnitude that will be quoted in the course of exposition, or will be used to compare regions or eras as a prelude to empirical generalisations ?

To answer these questions it is necessary to determine what the data are used for, and by whom. We shall set about that in the second part of this chapter. We could, of course, quip back that the statistics are used by the statisticians, but that is only part of the truth. A lot of these austere and rigidly presented tables are also used to underpin policy measures that are often questionable. Little by little we shall uncover a whole network of collusion that extends from groups of scientists to the machinery of the State itself.

The reasons for these two facts — imprecision and the specific uses to which the data are put — will appear in the third part of this chapter. It will be seen that the fundamental ambiguity lies in the nature of the statistical categories. Examples will be produced, to show how these divisions work in order to redistribute the objects or the human beings under study. We shall see more clearly how some categories threaten others and how they begin to conflict when this work of dissection is continued. Finally, we shall show that several conventional categories lack the internal homogeneity to prove the operations they perform. In this way the imprecision and the uses of the data will be explained.

Before going into details, let us say something about the nature of the evidence and the need to tackle these questions. If one consults a statistical yearbook or treatise, one finds little information on that score. All works of this kind tend to gloss over the imperfections in their material, since they labour under two misapprehensions concerning the reader's knowledge and the production of homogeneous series.

As a reader, look for the definition of a birth or of the total population. Particulars of how the figure was arrived at will be omitted and just a few cryptic sentences inserted. At best you will be referred to the previous yearbook, which in turn will refer you to an earlier one.

Secondly, the statistical services live in hopes that their time series are immortal. Out-of-date categories persist, or are broken down further in an attempt to delay their disappearance to the very last possible moment.

Very often the statistician prefers to keep a category that is unrealistic in concrete terms of the economy and society, rather than break a long series and risk being unable to make comparisons. Any calling in question is seen as a denial of the scientific character of statistics, and therefore a real threat to that science. An analysis of the imprecision and the uses of statistical data will clarify these initial remarks.

1. IMPRECISION OF DATA

Technical difficulties of collection, incompatibility of definitions and the impossibility of covering all cases, combine to confuse the data. We shall see what problems this raises for statistics of the movement and the state of the population.

The 1975 United Nations demographic yearbook publishes a table of legitimate and illegitimate births over 10 years for a great many countries. This table (the elements of which are discussed in Chapter V) is followed by a commensurately extensive set of footnotes, which we quote from here since they cover all the causes of imprecision :

As regards the New Zealand data : « data tabulated by year of registration rather than occurrence ».

As regards the Australian data : « excluding full-blooded aborigines estimated at 49 036 in June 1966 ».

As regards the Canadian data : « including Canadian residents temporarily in the United States, but excluding United States residents temporarily in Canada ».

As regards the Japanese data : « prior to 1973, excluding Okinawa ; data are for Japanese nationals in Japan only ».

As regards Denmark : « excluding the Faeroe Islands and Greenland, shown separately ».

For France : « including births among national armed forces outside the country ».

For the two German Republics : « the data which relate to the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic include the relevant data relating to Berlin for which separate data have not been supplied. This is without prejudice to any question of status which may be involved ».

For Ireland : « data are births registered within one year of occurrence ».

For Luxembourg : « births are for *de jure* population ».

For the Netherlands : « including births among residents outside the country if listed in a Netherlands population register ».

For Spain : « excluding Ceuta and Melilla ; excluding live-born infants dying within 24 hours of birth ».

We could continue with such examples for a long time, but these are enough to show how, despite their common categories, the data remain stubbornly idiosyncratic, as if to prevent any comparison. Several causes are apparent from these footnotes. First of all there is the simple technical impediment : if registered too late or improperly classified, real births no longer correspond to the period under study, but this disadvantage can be eliminated and has been in many countries.

The difficulties of definition are more serious : how should birth be defined and how can late miscarriages, i.e. « stillbirths », be separated from live births ? The Spaniards wait for 24 hours and the French for 3 days, which obliges them to make a distinction between « real » stillbirths and « false » stillbirths. But something can be done about this, too, notably by way of defining the « vitality » of children at birth to distinguish effectively between the different types of birth. We shall never manage to do this perfectly but we can get very close since we are dealing with a biological phenomenon (the same difficulties are raised by the definition of time of death).

Imprecision increases with the territorial problem. What should we do with Berlin, Melilla or the Faeroe Islands ? And we are not told where to find births in Liechtenstein, Monaco or on Sark (the only one of the Channel Islands not originally a dependency of the English crown). The lines of demarcation between countries are never sufficiently clear, and ambiguous cases persist. The very concept of frontier is a convention and in some cases fairly recent. In the 18th century, one crossed over imperceptibly from one country to another in continental Europe through « marches » with manifold allegiances, the central authority radiating outwards with decreasing intensity, whereas nowadays it is exerted with the same force everywhere from the centre to the national boundary (Germany). « No-man's-lands » do still exist, but one can imagine that they will disappear completely (although it could be argued that they are necessary evils).

It is in fact with the unforeseen cases that the imprecision increases considerably : for example, the unceasing movement of individuals between countries, their residence in other countries, their marriage with foreigners, the many different laws defining the nationality of their children, multiple nationality, choice of nationality and naturalisation all defy the best-constructed definitions. We then get all those references to « national armed forces outside the country », « residents outside country if listed in a Netherlands population register », « Canadian residents temporarily in the United States » or « *de jure* population » and « Japanese nationals ». It is probably not impossible to accommodate all these cases eventually, but the situation at present is confused. Certain countries seem to prefer homogeneous results to exhaustive collection, while others have the opposite preference.

Finally, there is one last category of imprecision which is insurmountable. It concerns illegitimate births in the Australian population (cited at the beginning of this section). A footnote states that illegitimate births in the aboriginal population are excluded from the total. The reason is that it is impossible to do otherwise.

The distinction between legitimate and illegitimate births is not of the same order as that between still births and live births. The former distinction is a social one since it assumes marriage, while the latter is biological. The aborigines are subject to fœtal mortality like all other populations. However, their births are not amenable to the concept of legitimacy, as their system of relationship is quite different from the Anglo-Saxon systems. Aboriginal births are not therefore classified according to the legitimacy criterion, since it has no meaning in their case. This extreme example seems obvious and one might be tempted to regard it as an exception, whereas it is the most visible indication of a widespread phenomenon.

It might also be objected that births are difficult to apprehend as they form a flow and legitimacy is one of the least reliable demographic categories, being the survival of an old ethic which was perceptible in many other enumerations, such as consanguineous marriages or legitimations, — in fact the whole pathology of marriage and the family.

On the other hand, a category as reliable as total population, which forms a stock, should be very well defined. Yet the same imperfections may be found here: *technical uncertainty of data collection* (since some individuals refuse to be counted while others are missed by all the interviewers); and *imprecision of the definitions* since *de facto* and *de jure* populations are differentiated — those who are there physically, and those who are there in the eyes of the law as being legal residents — but there is no means of defining a single population on the basis of these two standpoints, *de jure* and *de facto*. There is imprecision, too, with foreigners who may be in an irregular situation and not declare themselves. An exact photographic picture of countries would in fact show how many individuals were there at any one moment, but the very next moment the figure would have changed.

But censuses are infrequent, being carried out every five or ten years, and this makes « estimates » necessary in the interval. Thus, figures that seem fully precise — say, 9 605 601 inhabitants on 31st December 1967 in Belgium — are the result of a computation amended several times up to the next census and are certainly not precise at all. In fact, a preliminary estimate is given very early on, using the population figure for the preceding year and incomplete figures on movement (this estimate usually carries an asterisk), and then a second estimate replaces it when the movement figures are fully known. Unfortunately, these figures are never perfect for migration and the additions prove incorrect when the next census is taken. The estimates are then corrected in the light of the census results and henceforward the population figure is fixed. This may have taken about ten years and, in any event, it will always be an estimate, a computation.

Of course, apart from the very first estimate, the subsequent figures are quite similar to each other and provide a very good « order of magnitude » of the population.

All these imperfections seem surmountable, so there is no theoretical impossibility similar to that encountered with illegitimate births. However, complete precision is not the aim of the statistical services: they are aware of the impossibility of taking frequent censuses and prefer to base their estimate on the *resident* population (domiciled, legal or *de jure*), which is more stable than the *present-in-area* population. But the definition of this resident population implies residence or domicile. The count is no longer physical but social, for the definition of usual residence necessarily leaves out certain individuals who do not have one[1].

Analysing the number of marriages, deaths or divorces and, more generally, any demographic data would lead to the same findings: not only does imprecision exist for technical reasons but, above all, it is established at the very heart of the matter, in the definition and purpose of these measurements, and cannot be abolished by any technical feat.

2. USE OF DATA

The question of precision leads to the question of use. Perhaps precision is a secondary concern as regards the use made of these data. In physics, precision is important since accuracy of measurements makes it possible to test the validity of models, and minor deviations give the researcher a puzzle to solve; but statistical data do not have the same scientific function. Their use by the State and by the decision-makers assigns them a different position and role.

In order to know what advantage can be derived from these data, it is advisable to determine why they were collected and by whom they were expected to be used. Schematically, three types of users may be defined: the State or the ruling power, scientific groups and individuals. The practices of these three groups overlap and therefore conceal their real objectives as they adopt each other's reasons or justifications. We shall consider the two more visible forms of such borrowing: the central authority uses the mask of science and the scientist mimics urgency of action.

The central authority

As early as the 18th century, the European rulers were interested in a political arithmetic that went further than mere collection of data necessary for levying taxes or raising armies. *Computation* made its appearance, with the manipulation of political and economic objects through symbolic combinations. At the same time, such computations pandered to the vanity of princes: is London bigger than Paris, and do the Dutch have a more prosperous economy than the London merchants? This conversion into figures was accompanied by the homogenization of provinces and the reduction of individual peculiarities: the open field dispute and the « flour war » in France. It was less and less the village units that made the decisions regarding their work, their industries or their reserves on the basis of tradition, and more and more the administrators who settled these matters on the basis of computation. This territorial organisation was reflected in the great tables and classifications of the age: Quesnay's table of wealth, the classification of living things by Linnaeus and Buffon, Condorcet's general table of science — in short, the encyclopaedic spirit.

In the 19th century, this spirit was diverted to scientific concerns, no doubt because, in the golden age of classical economics, the State must no longer have a visible function of organisation. Statistics then once again became the instrument of a few public departments and thus resumed its display function : illustrating the amount of progress made, demonstrating to all the country's wealth and power. It found support among the social philosophers, followed by the positivists. At this point statistics become the instrument of empirical knowledge. By converting them into figures, one can manipulate people and objects, and arrange them in such a way as to show regularities. At the same time statistics as a discipline acquires its function of information : it is no longer the crude direct means of social computation but operates at a second level, suggesting new abstract divisions — age, marital status, occupation and more recently, socio-economic groups, categories of communes, sectors and branches of industry. All these classifications sweep right across the old local hierarchies destroying their very constitution, so that each piece can henceforth only be assembled with its peers at the centre of authority. This redefinition constitutes the ideological use of statistics by the central authority. It demands neither precision nor accuracy, but an illusion of these.

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[1] This problem will be examined in detail when we review certain results of the censuses in Germany, France and New Zealand.

Finally, after a certain time, the new categories themselves had practical consequences : age becomes a way of picking out conscripts for the Army, of limiting entry for competitive examinations, of retiring older workers. The size of towns and cities is used to define urban policy, as with « medium-sized towns », « new towns » and, in France, « métropoles d'équilibre » (decentralisation to large provincial cities). The numerical content becomes secondary, in fact only symbolic, since power no longer derives from the computations but from such magic words.

The figures survive in order not to give the game away, but they no longer have any precise combinatorial function. What use is it to the government, say, to know the number of births ? It does not have a monopoly on baby garments or cradles. Or the number of marriages ? Does it levy a tax on wedding rings ? A government is now only really interested in the way the statistical categories function ; it makes little use of their product in its practical decisions. Instead, it resorts to reserved surveys where the field covered is very precisely defined, its essential aim being to find out whether it is popular and likely to be re-elected. So it is the scientific groups that use the products of general statistics.

Scientific groups

These groups are the prisoners of definitions which they have not themselves established. They have to try to perceive the real world through the screens of the statistical services. For them it is often, like having to crack some mysterious code as they strive to identify well-known behaviour and current facts behind the opaque figures of statistics. Thus, statistics have a limited value from either angle of approach, in that they act as a filter that distorts reality and as an obstacle that prevents the observer from getting close. The same thing could be said about scientific observations in physics or astronomy and the remark would appear trite. But statistics has greater pretensions to objectivity than the better established sciences and those pretensions are reinforced by the State's monopoly of official statistics.

If the scientists intervened only after the data had been produced, it would not be necessary to consider them. But in fact, they interact with the statistical services and indirectly modify their practices. What is involved basically is an exchange wherby the administrations delegate the power of computation to the scientists and science justifies the collection of information with its lofty aims. Either side has its case. The statistical « services » often state in the introductions to their publications that they are serving science and that their figures will help its progress. The scientists, for their part, see themselves vicariously as men of action, and acquire knowledge in order to calculate decisions which the ruler will necessarily apply. Forecasting is the mainstay of this two-sided justification, whereas actually it ought to be the stumbling-block.

Thus, although all the population forecasts for the last 50 years or so have been refuted, they continue to be drawn up and published. Their extreme formalism, their ritual character one might almost say, is the token of this exchange between science and government : the result is of little consequence, the only thing that matters is the show. We variously use the words « science », « scientists » or « scientific groups », but what we are getting at is the practical manifestation of the scientific *apparatus*. The data are the materialization of its power : that is the object of science, or so it is hoped.

This reciprocal legitimation of the scientific and state apparatus might suffice if the real world did not exist ; but it does and, fortunately, both partners are reminded of it, which leaves some hope for statistics. First of all, the real world manifests itself in scientific criticism which, while the apparatus continues to grind away, nonetheless is constantly astir and challenging the catagories imposed and the official truths : this is the Promethean myth. But it also impinges on the classifications established by the central statistical services : it puts these classifications in contradiction with one another and obliges statistics to abandon homogenization as such and try instead to ensure consistency within its own categories.

This sort of autonomous development is reality's way of getting even : they tried to put it into so many little boxes, but the little boxes that were used can no longer be fitted together. In this autonomous process, it is possible to observe the chinks and widen them, so that statistics can be diverted to aims other than those originally decided on.

This opening-up is essential. Without it, the fact that statistics are recognised to have no general applicability would mean that they were never put to any use except that prescribed at the outset.

One of these grey areas of contradiction is of particular interest to us when studying the environment of childhood : namely, the family. It is not by chance that difficulties accumulate over the statistical description of the family, for this is at a mid-point between individual and State where it is impossible to harmonize *collective and personal* behaviour. But what remains of behaviour between individuals in a statistical system which separates them, severs all their links with one another and atomizes them ?

Individuals or statistics

This question is important since in all OECD countries childhood is lived out in small communities : the extended family, the day nursery, the kindergarten, the neighbourhood or the village. But the statistics do not take the view from below but the one from above. They can supply the number of two-year old children in a district, but they will not say how many of these children have older brothers and sisters.

By combining various statistics, we shall endeavour here to reconstruct certain elements of the actual lives of children and in particular to describe their families, but we must not expect the impossible. In using the relevant categories, we shall see not only their limitations but also their irremediable biases. There is nothing to tell us that actual family experience coincides with its demographic, geographic or social description.

Description here is not neutral : it is tendentious and underlies certain subsequent actions. Real experience cannot be depicted, almost by definition, since the purpose of grouping individuals in categories is to destroy their cohesiveness and to replace their individual characteristics by averages (for instance, in a census publication or in a statistical field, the same individual appears in several tables and even in all of them if they are general : by his age in the age pyramid, by his occupation in the activity tables, by his marital status in the tables of vital statistics, and so on ; thus, an integrated vertical concept of the individual is opposed by a separate, horizontal concept).

In conclusion, the fact has to be faced that the « raison d'être » of statistics is to serve the State — indeed its very name derives from the word « staat » ; it does not serve individuals directly. This means that its actual fields of operation are determined accordingly.

3. FIELDS OF STATISTICAL DESCRIPTION

We have already mentioned several aspects of this third problem, both when analysing the theoretical impossibility of defining certain categories and in dwelling on the technique of homogenization, but we have not really looked at the content of the category and the way in which other categories might be concealed. But a category, like a concept, only has a significance if it defines a fairly homogeneous field and creates or reveals fairly clearcut boundary lines. This is not so with most statistical categories. Once again anticipating the next chapter, we shall examine one of these very categories, namely infant mortality.

Infant mortality is defined as the proportion of children who die before the age of one year in a group of children born during a certain period. This proportion is computed as a rate, so one is reminded that the figures are established for purposes of comparing different populations. Thus, in the next chapter, the trend of infant mortality is given for almost all OECD countries during the postwar period. This may well be interpreted as implicitly reflecting the relative capacity of the various medical services ; it will be remembered, incidentally, that it has often been used as an indicator of social development. But Map No. I-II-1 gives more precise information. Here, infant mortality is calculated by administrative region for several West European countries, and we see immediately that the differences between regions are much wider than those between countries. The merest rudiments of statistical theory and elementary reflection tell us that a comparison of averages is meaningless if the dispersion is great.

This is more or less what we observe here, where the Italian, Belgian and French regions alternate in the infant mortality rankings. Comparisons between countries are no longer very relevant. On the other hand, the trend of infant mortality in one country can be studied satisfactority since many of the country's characteristics will remain unchanged from one year to the next[2].

Comparing a country with itself over time seems at first sight a more reliable proposition than comparing countries with one another ; however, the trends in the different regions may diverge, and falling infant mortality in the country as a whole may be due either to a very rapid decline in one region as opposed to another or to a general movement.

We stopped at the level of the administrative region or province, but we could choose smaller areas and the same variability would recur. Still finer subdivisions would show a « random » variability because the number of cases is too small, while the smallest division would be each separate birth : either the child dies or it survives.

What level should be taken along this range in order to obtain the most homogeneous data ? This question can be solved in theory since at a certain level the variance will be smaller (before the numbers become too small), but such a criterion of homogeneity is never considered : the distinctions created by the categories are not empirical, they are

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[2] The same applies to the other demographic parameters. In the case of births, for example, Map I-II-2 identifies homogeneous areas which by no means coincide with national frontiers.

a priori distinctions and real events are supposed to conform to them.

Instead of a geographical division, we could have investigated a social classification : Table I-II-3 gives the infant mortality rates for various socio-occupational categories in France. The difference between the extreme cases is even greater than the geographical differences : up to double (this presentation is a little exaggerated since the maximum difference between the proportions of children who *survive* is about 1 per cent : 98 to 99).

Table I-II-3

Infant mortality rate according to socio-occupational category of the father, in France, between 1956 and 1970

Father's socio-occupational category :	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970
Farmer	31.2	23.1	18.7
Farm labourer	35.3	27.7	23.9
Independant	25.4	20.5	17.7
Professionals	17.0	14.7	12.2
Managers	19.7	16.1	14.1
Clericals	24.9	20.2	17.2
Labourers as :			
skilled service worker and foreman	28.1	22.5	18.9
semi-skilled service worker	32.9	26.7	21.7
miner	48.3	36.6	28.3
unskilled	44.8	36.2	30.4

Source : La mortalité infantile en France suivant le milieu social ; Hémery, S. et M.C. Gerard, Économie et statistique, 1973, 48.

Table I-II-4

Infant mortality rate by legitimacy, nationality and community size

	Infant mortality		
	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970
Legal status of child :			
Legitimate	29.6	23.1	18.9
Illegitimate	46.4	37.0	30.8
Total	30.6	23.8	19.6
Father's nationality :			
French	29.2	22.6	18.3
Algerian	54.3	38.7	30.9
Other foreigners	31.5	24.4	22.4
Total legitimates	29.6	23.1	18.9

	1967
Rural community	21.4
Area of less than 5 000 inhabitants	21.6
Area of 5 000 to 10 000 inhabitants	21.2
Area of 10 000 to 20 000 inhabitants	21.4
Area of 20 000 to 50 000 inhabitants	21.0
Area of 50 000 to 100 000 inhabitants	19.9
Area of 100 000 to 200 000 inhabitants	20.8
Area of 200 000 to 1 100 000 inhabitants	20.5
Paris area	16.3
Total France	20.2

Source : La mortalité infantile en France suivant le milieu social ; Hémery, S. et M.C. Gérard, Économie et statistique, 1973, 48.

Other differences : Table I-II-4 gives infant mortality according to legitimacy status and then according to size of district. There is thus every indication of a very clear relationship between the child's immediate environment and infant mortality, but the statistics with their unwieldy categories are incapable of bringing this out properly. The criterion of internal homogeneity is therefore not used in measuring infant mortality. There are reasons of convenience for this, but it also reflects a deliberate mode of action : countries are made up of all kinds of individuals, but the same public authority acts in them.

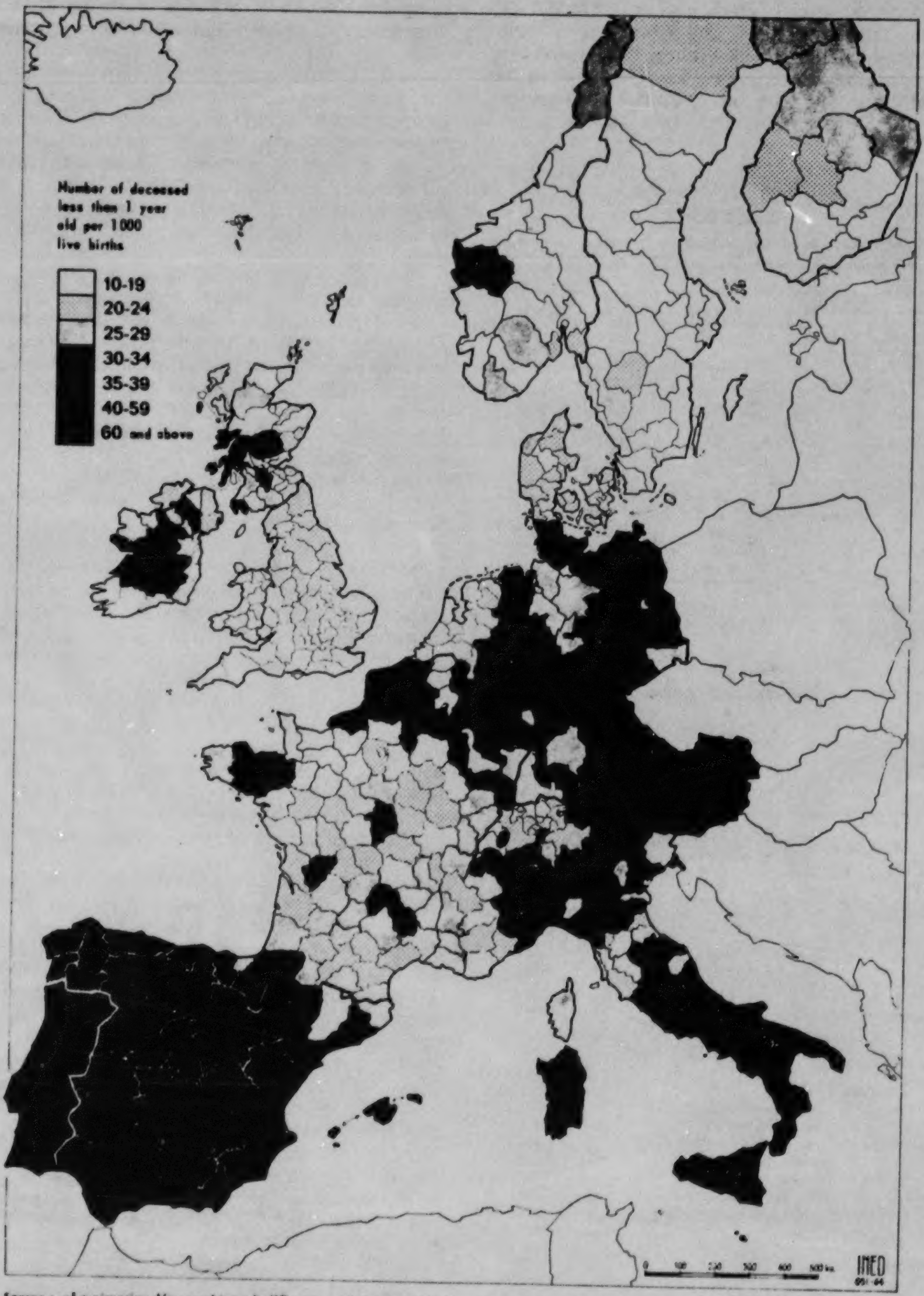
Heterogeneity is not a fault that can be imputed to another major classification category, age, but the real interest of this variable is questionable. Age cannot be measured directly in an individual ; it is not a physical or intellectual parameter but rather a mute variable in which all the types of conduct formed throughout an individual's past interlock. For instance, age-specific fertility in the developed countries does not reflect the « biological » capacity of men or women but the way in which they build up their families. It would then be more reasonable to describe fertility in relation to the family directly, but — and here is further evidence of the autonomy of statistics — variables acquire importance more because of their formal convenience than because of their significance. Age, which poses few problems of measurement in any OECD country and which is a numerical variable, makes it possible to unify a vast field : a typology of families or a classification of occupations could not do this without blatant simplification. Numerical variables therefore tend to prevail over more appropriate categories. What has been said about age is also true of the family, often reduced to the « number of children », and of the dwelling, which becomes the « number of rooms ». In the classification of towns and cities, the number of inhabitants is supplanting more traditional criteria based on functions or hierarchy. The very content of the statistical breakdowns is therefore ambiguous. In certain cases, State action gives prominence to administrative concepts, in others the logic of numbers operates in favour of numerical variables.

Examination of the three questions raised at the beginning of the chapter makes it clear that statistical data should be approached with great caution. Reality is very much distorted at the data collection stage itself, and it is even reconstructend along lines that are deliberately intended. The data are not collected at random, or in the order of their importance as determined by some mysterious scheme of nature. They are chosen in the light of certain objectives. Their nature, like the categories used, is not general, therefore, as may sometimes be supposed.

This clarity of intention is, in fact, blurred by several factors that relate to the behaviour of the scientific apparatus and to the autonomous dynamics

Map I-II.1

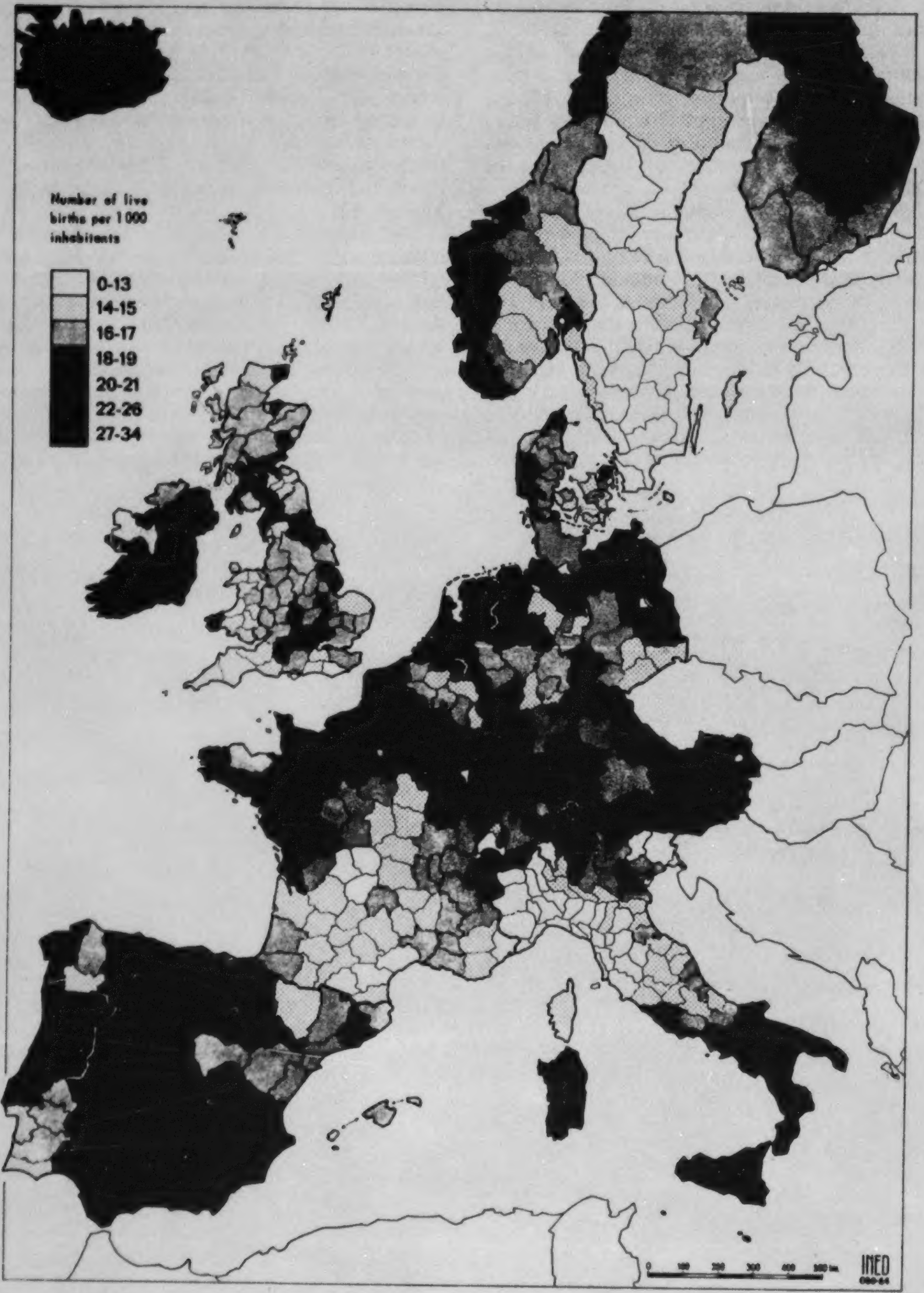
INFANT MORTALITY IN WESTERN EUROPE BY REGION


Number of deceased less than 1 year old per 1000 live births
10-19
20-24
25-29
30-34
35-39
40-59
60 and above
0
100
200
300
400
500 km
INED
051-64

Source : «La situation démographique de l'Europe occidentale». Biraben, J.N., Y. Peron, A. Nizard. Population 19, 3, 1964.

Map I-II.2

BIRTH RATE IN WESTERN EUROPE BY REGION


Number of live births per 1 000 inhabitants
0-13
14-15
16-17
18-19
20-21
22-26
27-34
0 100 200 300 400 500 km
INED
086-64

Source : Same as I-II.1.

of statistics. So the real origin is concealed and we have this illusion of generality. The scientific presentation also contributes, but we have shown that the formal structure of data is not free from contradictions and imprecision. The notion of « scientific data » is a source of confusion because of the analogies it inevitably suggests. Thus, data in physics, chemistry and mechanics are perfectly precise and coherent, but they are not observational data : they are experimental laboratory data. The air in a room does not really conform to Boyle's law or Dalton's law ; a descending road is not an inclined plane. Statistical data on population, on the other hand, do not come from laboratory experiment but from direct measurements of total reality. They can therefore at best be likened to meteorological or geophysical measurements. This is also where the real dividing line in statistics occurs. In traditional decision-making theory, the organisation of experiment is the essential moment. Experiment must be planned so that decisions can be taken with the greatest possible certainty. The data collected are tightly linked to this requirement and have no character of generality. The connection with the experimental sciences can be established at this point.

By contrast, in descriptive statistics as practised here, experiment is not organised other than through the categories used. The results cannot therefore be expected to give very much help to decision-making. Rather they serve as a gauge where only sharp swings of the needle cause concern ; though it is not one always known whether those swings are good or bad. Will the falling birthrate help the economy ? Those who argue that it will and those who contend the contrary are still at loggerheads.

The hand of the State is more apparent in the creation of categories and in the way they are spotlit so that other differences tend not to be noticed, but not everything is cunningly calculated and machiavellian. It has been seen that contradictions arise which offer a certain autonomy. We shall endeavour to take advantage of this in the next chapter so as to provide a rather more concrete description. However, we cannot forget that statistics always reflect the State's viewpoint and that it is difficult to identify the real-life situation of individuals in them.

Chapter III

FACTORS OF DEMOGRAPHIC EVOLUTION AND CHILDHOOD

Statistics represent the view of groups and individuals « from above ». Reversing this perspective to obtain the view « from below » might seem impossible, but there are certain tactical devices for bringing this about and they will be used in this chapter. Here are two simple examples.

The distribution of families in France by number of children is shown in the first column of Table I-III-1. This is the newpoint of the State and of the parents : how many have a large family, how many have no children ? Reversing the perspective consists in putting the question *from the child's standpoint.* How many belong to large families, how many are only children ? (We obtain the second column of Table I-III-1 from the first column simply by the way of multiplying by the number of children in each category.) The difference made by this simple reversal will be readily seen. Whereas for the State and the parents, families are small, children on the contrary live in the context of larger families. Neither of the viewpoints is in theory superior to the other. It all depends on what use is going to be made of the data.

Similarly, widowhood, if taken from the conventional viewpoint of the State, is described, for example, by the proportion of widows among all women. Table I-III-2 shows the trend in this proportion for a few countries over the last 20 years, from which we may observe an almost general increase in widowhood among women. But if we again take the child's angle, we have to ask *how many children have lost their father.* This kind of statistics seldom exists ; however, we can get an idea of the result by looking at the trend of male mortality and the age of men at fatherhood : since men are becoming fathers at a younger age and since mortality is still falling slightly, a reduction in the number of children who have lost their father must be expected, which is the opposite result to the increase in the proportion of widows. Here again, neither viewpoint is better and there is no contradiction, only a different approach.

If widowhood increases from the State viewpoint, it is because of the age structure of excess male mortality and the recent fall in mortality : old people are more numerous, so the proportion of widows in the population is rising.

This second example, for which data from the child's viewpoint do not exist and can only be reconstituted by extrapolation or computation, is unfortunately the rule, while the first situation is the exception. We shall therefore present the traditional viewpoint here, but we shall constantly indicate the

Table I-III-1

Distribution of complete families of women born between 1892 and 1916 by size and according to the size of the family and distribution of children by family size category

Number of children	Proportion of families %	Proportion of children %
0	16.5	—
1	24.9	11.1
2	23.8	21.3
3	14.5	19.5
4	8.2	14.6
5	4.7	10.5
6 and over [1]	7.4	23.1
Total	100.0	100.0

[1] In order to calculate the proportion of children, we have assimilated this category to a homogeneous category of 7 children. The same for Graph 1.

Source : Structures des familles : enquête de 1962. Deville, J.C., INSEE, Paris 1973.

Table I-III-2

Proportion of widows and widowers in the population above 15 years in 1950, 1960 and 1970

	Men			Women		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
Denmark	4.6	4.2	4.0	9.7	10.4	11.7
Finland	3.6	3.1	2.8	13.8	13.3	12.9
Sweden	4.7	4.2	3.8	9.8	10.1	11.1
Germany	4.5	3.9	3.5	15.3	17.0	18.0
Austria	4.4	4.0	3.8	17.0	18.1	18.5
France	4.8	4.1	3.7	17.1	16.5	15.6
Switzerland	3.9	3.2	2.8	11.2	11.0	11.0
Spain	4.4	4.0	3.5	14.0	13.0	12.6
Italy	4.1	3.6	3.4	12.7	12.5	13.4
Yougoslavia	4.2	3.7	3.2	15.9	13.9	12.8

Source : Etude sur la situation économique de l'Europe en 1974, Nations Unies, Secrétariat de la Commission Economique pour l'Europe. New York, 1976 (F75IIE16).

Table I-III-3

Infant mortality rate, by year, for each country

Year	Germany	Australia	Austria	Belgium	Canada	Denmark	United States	Spain	Finland	France	Greece	Ireland	Iceland	Italy	Japan	Luxemburg	New Zealand	Norway	Netherlands	Portugal	United Kingdom	Sweden	Switzerland	Turkey	Yugoslavia
1945																									
1946	97.1																								
1947	86.3																								
1948	68.9	27.8	76.2	59.0		35.0	32.0	64.3	51.9			50.3			61.7		27.4	29.6	29.3	100.2			36.0		
1949	59.6	25.3	75.2	57.2		34.0	31.3	68.9	48.3	60.3	41.9	53.2			62.5		30.0	27.7	26.8	114.5			34.0		
1950	55.3	24.5	66.1	53.4		31.0	29.2	64.2	43.5	51.9	35.4	46.2			60.1		27.6	28.2	25.2	94.1		20.0	31.0		
1951	53.4	25.2	61.3	50.0	38.5	29.0	28.4	62.6	35.4	50.2	43.5	45.7	27.3	66.5	57.5	42.6	27.5	25.7	25.1	89.1	31.1	21.6	30.0		139.8
1952	48.3	23.8	51.9	44.8	38.2	29.0	28.4	54.7	31.8	45.1	40.5	41.4	20.6	63.4	49.4	45.0	28.4	23.7	22.5	94.3	28.8	20.0	29.0		105.0
1953	46.5	23.3	49.9	41.8	35.6	27.0	27.8	52.8	34.2	41.7	42.4	39.4	19.0	58.4	48.9	42.3	25.7	22.0	22.1	95.5	27.6	18.7	30.0		116.1
1954	43.5	22.5	48.3	41.3	31.9	27.0	26.6	54.2	30.6	40.8	42.3	37.8	18.2	53.0	44.6	44.8	24.0	21.4	21.1	85.5	26.4	18.7	27.0		101.6
1955	41.9	22.0	45.6	40.7	31.3	25.0	26.4	56.3	29.7	38.6	43.5	36.8	22.4	50.9	39.8	40.5	24.5	20.6	20.1	90.2	25.8	17.4	26.0		112.8
1956	38.9	21.7	43.3	39.3	31.9	25.0	26.0	43.5	25.4	36.2	38.7	35.6	17.4	48.8	40.6	36.8	23.2	21.2	19.0	87.8	24.4	17.0	26.0		98.3
1957	36.6	21.4	44.2	35.9	30.9	23.0	26.4	47.2	25.7	33.8	44.1	33.1	16.9	50.0	40.0	38.6	24.2	20.5	18.4	87.9	24.0	17.8	23.0		101.5
1958	36.2	20.5	40.7	31.3	30.2	22.0	27.1	42.5	27.9	31.5	39.0	35.4	18.7	48.2	34.5	34.7	23.3	20.0	18.5	84.0	23.4	15.9	22.0		86.4
1959	34.4	21.5	39.8	30.3	28.4	22.0	26.4	42.3	24.5	29.6	40.6	32.0	16.3	45.4	33.7	37.3	23.8	18.7	18.1	88.6	23.1	16.6	22.0		92.0
1960	33.8	20.2	37.5	31.1	27.3	22.0	26.0	35.5	23.6	27.4	40.0	29.3	13.0	43.9	30.7	31.5	22.5	18.9	17.9	77.5	22.4	16.6	21.0		87.7
1961	32.0	19.5	32.7	28.0	27.2	22.0	25.3	37.4	21.0	25.7	39.8	30.5	19.5	40.7	28.6	26.2	22.7	17.9	17.0	88.7	22.1	15.8	21.0		82.0
1962	29.3	20.4	32.8	27.5	27.6	20.0	25.3	32.5	20.8	25.7	40.3	29.1	17.0	41.8	26.4	31.1	20.4	17.7	17.0	78.5	22.4	15.4	21.0	165.0	84.2
1963	27.1	19.5	31.3	27.1	26.3	19.0	25.2	32.0	20.5	25.5	39.2	26.6	17.0	40.1	23.2	28.6	19.6	16.9	15.8	73.1	21.7	15.4	20.0		77.5
1964	25.3	19.1	29.2	25.3	24.7	19.0	24.8	30.9	18.2	23.4	35.8	26.7	17.5	36.1	20.4	29.8	19.1	16.4	14.8	68.9	20.6	14.2	19.0		75.8
1965	23.8	18.5	28.3	23.6	23.6	19.0	24.7	29.5	17.0	21.9	34.3	25.2	15.0	36.0	18.5	24.0	19.5	16.8	14.4	64.9	19.6	13.3	18.0		71.5
1966	23.6	18.7	28.1	24.7	23.1	17.0	23.7	32.3	15.0	21.7	33.9	24.9	13.6	34.7	19.3	26.8	17.6	14.5	14.7	64.6	19.6	12.6	17.0		62.1
1967	22.8	18.3	26.4	22.9	22.0	16.0	22.4	29.9	14.8	20.7	34.3	24.4	12.9	32.2	14.9	20.4	18.0	14.8	13.4	59.2	18.8	12.9	17.0		62.1
1968	22.6	17.8	25.5	21.7	20.8	16.0	21.8	28.4	14.4	20.4	34.4	21.0	14.0	32.7	15.3	16.7	18.6	13.7	13.6	61.1	18.7	13.1	16.0		58.6
1969	23.2	17.9	25.4	21.2	19.3	15.0	20.7	26.4	14.3	19.6	31.8	20.6	11.6	30.8	14.2	17.3	16.8	13.8	13.2	55.8	18.6	11.7	15.0		57.3
1970	23.4	17.9	25.9	21.0	18.8	14.0	20.0	24.4	13.2	18.2	29.6	19.5	13.2	29.5	13.1	24.6	16.7	12.7	12.7	58.0	18.5	11.0	15.0		55.5
1971	23.1	17.3	26.1	20.3	17.5	14.0	19.1	22.7	12.7	17.2	26.9	18.0	12.9	28.5	12.4	22.2	16.5	12.8	12.1	49.8	17.9	11.1	14.0		49.5
1972	22.5	16.5	25.2	18.8	17.1	12.0	18.5	19.9	12.0	16.0	27.3	18.0	11.3	27.0	11.7	13.8	15.6	11.8	11.7	41.4	17.5	10.8	13.0		44.4
1973		16.7	23.8	16.9	15.5	11.0	17.7	18.8		15.4	24.1	18.0	9.6		11.3	15.1		11.9	11.5	44.8		9.9	13.0		44.0
1974			23.5	16.1		11.0	16.5	16.7		14.6	23.9				10.8			10.4	11.3			9.6	12.0		
1975			20.5																				11.0		

possibilities of extrapolation. We shall begin with data on mortality and then go on to data on the family in the narrow sense of « fertility ».

1. MORTALITY

Two series of data can show the impact of death on childhood : as suffered and as observed, or again, as it affects children and as it strikes down their near ones.

Mortality of children is traditionally described by infant mortality, i.e. the proportion of children who do not reach their first birthday. Mortality of parents and near ones is more difficult to describe, as we have seen above in connection with widowhood. We shall approach it through the life tables and their summary, life expectancy.

Infant mortality (Table I-III-3)

The trend of infant mortality is easy to describe. It has fallen in all developed countries and correspondingly faster in those countries where it was highest (Yugoslavia, Spain, Portugal) ; it appears to be moving towards a minimum value of around 1 per cent. But it remains higher in the Mediterranean countries, regardless of standard of living.

The rate of decline has differed considerably according to country, being steeper in those countries when it began later. In Switzerland and in the Nordic countries, infant mortality was already less than 4 per cent immediately after the war, but in Portugal it was around 6 per cent up to 1971 and then fell sharply. It is possible to break these rates down by distinguishing between several periods during the first year of life : death in the first week, in the first month (or neo-natal mortality), or in the subsequent months (post-neo-natal mortality).

One should also point out the very considerable « excess male mortality » in all OECD countries, where women live longer than men. The biggest differences occur in France and the United States : nearly 8 years, which is wider than the difference in mortality between the highest and lowest social status categories. No explanations have been given for this. It can only be established that excess male mortality is rising and that it is much more pronounced between the ages of 20 and 60 than at younger or older ages.

Returning to infant mortality, there was a decline in each of the components already referred to, but it was more pronounced in post-neo-natal mortality, which is said to be more closely linked with living conditions in early childhood. Another fairly analogous but older and also more empirical distinction is the one between « endogenous » mortality and « exogenous » mortality. Although it is falling into disuse because of its imprecision, it has the advantage of imputing causes better. Thus, endogenous mortality is due to genetic causes and malformations and designates an almost incompressible threshold of infant mortality. Exogenous mortality, on the other hand, is a reflection of environmental conditions, hygiene, nutrition and hospital facilities. It is therefore quite normal for it to fall more quickly than endogenous mortality. Be that as it may, infant mortality is tending to become residual : it is a mishap, but no longer inevitable. This development is a major event for childhood. The formation of the family, its composition and the attitude towards children have all undergone a fundamental change in the last century or two. Thus, in the Western European countries, for example, infant mortality in the first year of life was still 5 per 100 between the two wars, compared with 10 at the beginning of the century, 20 to 25 in 1800 and 30 in 1750.

In the middle of the 18th century, less than one child in two reached the age of five. Could one, in those circumstances, make such a large emotional investment as is customary nowadays ? The risk of bereavement was one in two. Above all, it was not possible to « plan » one's family since the risk of endemic diseases or epidemics could suddenly wipe out a whole section of the household.

At the same time, the child received less care and ran greater risks of accident or infection. The composition of families, also, was quite different in those days. Very large families which had escaped disease were found alongside others in which only one or two children had survived.

This greater variety of size was accompanied by a more varied composition : whereas nowadays age differences between children are fairly regular and only increase for the last child, in the past the spread could be very great if deaths had caused wide age gaps between the surviving children. Some children had already left home before their youngest brothers or sisters had even been born. Death forced its presence on all children, whereas today they mostly live to see their great-grandparents die. The idea of death cannot, therefore, be the same in the two cases.

Life expectancy at birth

This difference between mortality in the 18th century and nowadays applies to all ages, but less markedly than in the case of infant mortality. Mortality is usually described in the form of « life tables » showing the risks of death at each age and the proportion of survivors which would be found by following a group of individuals subjected to these risks. In order to produce a summary of this distribution, we use life expectancy, i.e. the average age at death of this group of individuals.

Recent life expectancy trends in the OECD countries have been given in Table I-III-4, separately for men and women. It will be seen there that mortality fell very quickly in the immediate post-war period, but that this trend slowed down between 1955 and 1970 for women and almost flattened out for men at levels which nevertheless vary quite appreciably from one country to another. The gap between men and women has therefore increased, sometimes by as much as eight years. These overall figures conceal widely differing trends and big differences according to various criteria :

By age, mortality has fallen considerably for the 0-5 age group, but it has risen constantly among young adults because of accidents. It is falling slowly for old people. According to country, the age-specific mortality rates differ much more at younger than at older ages.

By occupation, there are several surveys showing considerable differences. For instance, in France, the proportion of individuals surviving to age 70 among those who were in a certain occupation at age 35 is shown in Table I-III-5 ; it will be seen that a farm worker has twice as much chance of dying in this age range as a senior manager.

By region, life expectancy varies a great deal. The differences are as big as for occupations and apply regardless of cause of death. It may be assumed that the whole way of life is responsible.

Further confirmation of this will be found when we analyse differences in mortality according to size of town. The differences are quite small but very variable ; in the smallest towns, all occupational categories have a similar mortality. The larger the

Table I-III-4

Expectation of life at birth by country in selected years

Germany	**Australia**	**Belgium**	**Canada**	**Denmark**	**Austria**	**United States**	**Spain**
Males : 1900 : 44.8 1930 : 59.9 1950 : 64.6 1960 : 66.7 1970 : 67.3 Females : 1900 : 48.3 1930 : 62.8 1950 : 68.5 1960 : 71.9 1970 : 73.6	Males : 1901-10 : 55.2 1953-55 : 67.1 1960-62 : 67.9 1965-67 : 67.6 Females : 1901-10 : 58.8 1953-55 : 72.8 1960-62 : 74.2 1965-67 : 74.1	Males : 1900 : 45.4 1930 : 56.0 1950 : 62.0 1960 : 67.7 1970 : 68.4 Females : 1900 : 48.8 1930 : 59.8 1950 : 67.3 1960 : 73.5 1970 : 74.5	Males : 1930-32 : 60.0 1940-42 : 62.9 1945 : 64.7 1956 : 67.7 1971 : 69.3 Females : 1930-32 : 62.1 1940-42 : 66.3 1945 : 68.0 1956 : 72.9 1971 : 76.4	Males : 1900 : 52.9 1930 : 61.5 1950 : 69.8 1960 : 70.3 1970 : 71.0 Females : 1900 : 56.2 1930 : 63.2 1950 : 72.6 1960 : 74.4 1970 : 76.1	Males : 1900 : 39.1 1930 : 54.5 1950 : 61.9 1960 : 65.6 1970 : 66.3 Females : 1900 : 41.1 1930 : 58.5 1950 : 67.0 1960 : 72.0 1970 : 73.5	Males : 1948 : 64.6 1960 : 66.6 1965 : 66.8 1970 : 67.1 Females : 1948 : 69.9 1960 : 73.1 1965 : 73.7 1970 : 74.8	Males : 1900 : 33.9 1930 : 48.4 1950 : 58.8 1960 : 67.3 1970 : 69.0 Females : 1900 : 35.7 1930 : 51.6 1950 : 63.5 1960 : 71.9 1970 : 74.4
Finland	**France**	**Greece**	**Ireland**	**Iceland**	**Italy**	**Japan**	**New Zealand**
Males : 1900 : 45.3 1930 : 52.6 1950 : 62.9 1960 : 64.9 1970 : 65.7 Females : 1900 : 48.1 1930 : 57.4 1950 : 69.1 1960 : 71.6 1970 : 73.6	Males : 1900 : 45.3 1930 : 54.3 1950 : 63.6 1960 : 67.2 1970 : 69.1 Females : 1900 : 48.7 1930 : 59.0 1950 : 69.3 1960 : 73.8 1970 : 76.7	Males : 1900 : — 1930 : 44.9 1950 : — 1960 : 67.5 1970 : — Females : 1900 : — 1930 : 47.5 1950 : — 1960 : 70.7 1970 : —	Males : 1900 : 49.3 1930 : 57.8 1950 : 64.5 1960 : 68.1 1970 : 68.6 Females : 1900 : 49.6 1930 : 58.8 1950 : 67.0 1960 : 71.9 1970 : 73.2	Males : 1902-10 : 48.3 1921-30 : 56.2 1951-60 : 70.7 1961-65 : 70.8 1966-70 : 70.7 Females : 1902-10 : 53.1 1921-30 : 61.0 1951-60 : 75.0 1961-65 : 76.2 1966-70 : 76.3	Males : 1900 : 44.2 1930 : 53.8 1950 : 63.8 1960 : 67.2 1970 : 68.5 Females : 1900 : 44.8 1930 : 56.0 1950 : 67.3 1960 : 72.3 1970 : 74.6	Males : 1909-13 : 44.3 1926-30 : 44.8 1950-52 : 59.6 1960 : 65.3 1970 : 70.5 Females : 1909-13 : 44.7 1926-30 : 46.5 1950-52 : 63.0 1960 : 70.2 1970 : 75.9	Males : 1906-10 : 59.2 1931 : 65.0 1950-52 : 68.3 1960-62 : 69.2 1970-72 : 69.1 Females : 1906-10 : 61.8 1931 : 67.9 1950-52 : 72.4 1960-62 : 74.5 1970-72 : 75.2
Norway	**Netherlands**	**Portugal**	**England and Wales**	**Sweden**	**Switzerland**	**Turkey**	**Yugoslavia**
Males : 1900 : 54.8 1930 : 62.5 1950 : 71.1 1960 : 71.1 1970 : 71.0 Females : 1900 : 57.7 1930 : 65.7 1950 : 74.7 1960 : 74.7 1970 : 77.5	Males : 1900 : 51.0 1930 : 63.7 1950 : 70.6 1960 : 71.4 1970 : 70.7 Females : 1900 : 53.4 1930 : 65.4 1950 : 72.9 1960 : 74.8 1970 : 76.5	Males : 1900 : — 1930 : — 1950 : 55.5 1960 : 60.7 1970 : 65.3 Females : 1900 : — 1930 : — 1950 : 60.5 1960 : 66.4 1970 : 71.0	Males : 1900 : 48.5 1930 : 58.7 1950 : 66.5 1960 : 68.3 1970 : 68.8 Females : 1900 : 52.4 1930 : 62.9 1950 : 71.2 1960 : 74.1 1970 : 75.2	Males : 1900 : 54.5 1930 : 62.4 1950 : 70.3 1960 : 71.2 1970 : 72.3 Females : 1900 : 57.0 1930 : 64.6 1950 : 72.7 1960 : 74.7 1970 : 77.4	Males : 1900 : 49.3 1930 : 59.2 1950 : 66.4 1960 : 68.7 1970 : 70.0 Females : 1900 : 52.2 1930 : 63.1 1950 : 70.9 1960 : 74.1 1970 : 76.0	Males : 1935-40 : 51.5 1950-55 : 57.6 1960-65 : 59.2 1966-67 : 60.6 Females : 1935-40 : 49.6 1950-55 : 59.2 1960-65 : 61.9 1965-67 : 63.9	Males : 1930 : 50.1 1950 : 56.4 1960 : 62.2 1970 : 65.1 Females : 1930 : 54.2 1950 : 58.5 1960 : 65.3 1970 : 69.9

town, the greater the difference in mortality according to occupation ; proportionally more employers, professional persons and senior managers die in the country than in the towns. The reverse is true of manual workers, *so urbanisation increases inequalities in death.*

Finally, two technical comments are called for : life expectancy is an index that is sensitive to mortality at the extreme ages : very young or very old. In old age, the small number of survivors and the slow advance in mortality reduce this disadvantage, but at the other end of the scale the fall in infant mortality has a strong effect on life expectancy, thus concealing the advance of mortality at intermediate ages. It should be remembered that a life expectancy at birth of 25 years in the 18th century was accompanied by a similar life expectancy at the age of 20. From the angle we are interested in here, this life expectancy does not give us very precise information : the life table has a meaning for an insurance company or for a public department, but the individual, for his part, does not live on averages : he dies only once.

From the child's standpoint, the death of parents is less common than in the past, but this phenomenon should not be exaggerated. It is in fact possible to find the age of children on the death of their father and mother by combining the data on the age of parents at the birth of their children with the life tables, assuming that the two are not linked. Table I-III-6 shows the results for France in the 18th century and for presentday France.

Thus, whatever the mortality pattern, the predominating situation appears to be one in which both parents are alive. It even seems possible that young children more frequently had both parents living at home a hundred years ago, since the absence of divorce made up for the higher mortality.

Table I-III-5

Death differential by social category in France

Socio-occupational category	Surviving at 75 years p. 1 000 at 35 years
Teachers	574
Professionals	551
Catholic clergy	524
Managers (public)	518
Operators	507
Managers (private)	489
Farmers	473
Foremen	472
Skilled service workers	446
Clericals (public)	448
Craftsmen and Salesmen	460
Clericals (private)	448
Semi-skilled service workers (public)	406
Skilled service workers (private)	380
Farm labourers	356
Semi-skilled service workers (private)	362
Unskilled	310
Total France	412

Source : « La mortalité des adultes suivant le milieu social 1955-1971 ». G. Desplanques, INSEE, Paris, Vol. D 44, 1976

Table I-III-6

Average age of individuals on death of father and mother

	18th century	1970
Father	28.1	39.1
Mother	34.5	49.8

Source : « Parents, Grands-Parents, Bisaïeux », H. Le Bras, Population, 1973, 1.

2. FERTILITY

This aspect of the family and population development has claimed the attention of demographers for the last quarter of a century for several reasons. First, the population boom in the Third World increased the demand for birth control and therefore for quantitative analysis of natality. Secondly, the fear of falling fertility, such as occurred between the two wars, was a cause of anxiety to the European countries up to 1970, before the opposite tendency developed. At the same time, the relative stability of mortality now prevents it from being a variable of population control and only fertility can be used as it still retains a certain plasticity. Finally, in spite of so many researches, medium-term fertility trends are still unpredictable.

Information about fertility is useful here since it describes the position of the child in relation to its mother and possibly to its brothers and sisters. However, one should not be deluded by the term « family » sometimes used in these circumstances, for the subject is approached in a very limited way. The father is almost always absent and where he does appear, it is the mother who is no longer mentioned. The mother is described by only two parameters : her age and the duration of marriage. The children are sometimes distinguished according to order of birth : these are children *born*, not children *present.* This is an external description which says little about the mechanism of the family. It is an anatomy without physiology and without microscopic analysis. In spite of this, certain useful information about childhood can be gleaned if we go to the very heart of the demographic treatment of fertility, but this demands a little effort.

a) *Traditional analysis of fertility*

We shall now briefly describe how this traditional analysis is developed, using a few simple notations. Each basic index is the frequency of births of a certain type among women corresponding to that type : thus, duration-specific fertility rates will be obtained by taking all legitimate births, whatever their order and whatever the age of the mother, for each duration of marriage and relating it to all women who have been married for that period. At time t, we indicate by $B_t(A, M, R)$ the number of births by age of mother A, duration of marriage M and order R, and by $P_t(A, M, R)$ the number of mothers who are at age A, who have had R births and who were married M years ago.

The various indices of fertility are merely simple groupings of births related to the corresponding groupings of numbers of females. (Summations are denoted by replacing the name of a variable by a point as in variance analysis.)

Fertility rate by age :

$$\frac{B_t(A,.,.)}{P_t(A,.,.)} = f_t(A)$$

Fertility rate by duration of marriage :

$$\frac{B_t(.,M,.)}{P_t(.,M,.)} = g_t(M)$$

Total fertility rate (lifetime fertility or average number of children at the time) :

$$\sum \frac{B_t(A,.,.)}{P_t(A,.,.)} = R_t$$

Average age of mothers on children's birth :

$$\sum A f_t(A)/R_t$$

Cumulative fertility at age A by generation :

$$\sum f_{t-x}(A - x)$$

Cumulative fertility at age M by marriage cohort :

$$\sum^{M} g_{t-x}(M - x)$$

Fertility rate by age and order :

$$\frac{B_t(A,.,R)}{P_t(A,.,.)}$$

Fertility rate by duration of marriage and order :

$$\frac{B_t(.,M,R)}{P_t(.,M,.)}$$

Average number of children of order R by generation t :

$$\sum_x \frac{B_{t-x}(A - x,.,R)}{P_t(0,.,.)} = N_{t,R}$$

Parity-progression ratio of order R by generation T :

$$N_{t,R}/N_{t,R-1}$$

Average number of children of order R by marriage cohort :

$$N_{t,R} = \frac{\sum_x B_{t-x}(.,M - x,R)}{P_t(.,0,.)}$$

Parity-progression ratio of order R by marriage cohort :

$$N_{t,R}/N_{t,R-1}$$

This profusion of indices reveals a real difficulty : there is no satisfactory probability model that can be used as a reference for discontinuous measurements. This astonishing deficiency will be explained later, but an idea of it can be obtained when we note that the birth probability, given that all the necessary parameters are known (age of mother, duration of marriage, order), depends nevertheless on the length of time that has elapsed since the preceding birth.

This influence of past events makes formulation difficult and obliges the experts to resort to approximations, hence all the indices. Taking account of divorce, widowhood and remarriage, plus the fact that certain numbers are not known (for example, mothers by age and duration of marriage), keeps them so busy working out alternative solutions *and* approximate methods that the final aim — understanding the composition of families — is somewhat lost sight of. To make the headache complete, there are also the illegitimate children, legitimations and plural births.

b) *Trends in a few indices*

We shall begin by commenting on the trend of a traditional indicator, namely age-specific fertility. Lack of space prevents us from reproducing the age-specific rates for each country since 1945 (these are to be found in several United Nations yearbooks : 1958, 1965, 1975).

Table I-III-7

Cross-sectional number of children everborn (average number of children) per year and for each country

Year	Germany	Australia	Austria	Belgium	Spain	Canada	Denmark	United States	Finland	France	Greece	Ireland	Iceland	Italy	Japan	Luxemburg	Norway	New Zealand	Netherlands	Portugal	United Kingdom	Sweden	Switzerland	Turkey	Yugoslavia
1945		2.74				3.00		2.48										2.91							
1946		2.98		2.52	3.02	3.36	2.68	2.93	3.41	2.98		3.33		3.01		2.77	2.77	3.25	3.97	3.16	2.67	2.57	2.62		
1947		3.06		2.46	2.90	3.59	2.64	3.26	3.47	3.02			3.70	2.89	4.63		2.66	3.45	3.70	3.11	2.70	2.50	2.56		
1948		2.97		2.44	2.71	3.43	2.86	3.10	3.47	3.00				2.83	4.31	1.99	2.60	3.38	3.41	3.42	2.39	2.47	2.54		
1949	2.15	2.99		2.38	2.58	3.44	2.65	3.10	3.33	3.00				2.62	4.29		2.52	3.33	3.22	3.17	2.26	2.39	2.44		
1950	2.10	3.06		2.34	2.58	3.44	2.46	3.08	3.16	2.93				2.49	3.62		2.52	3.38	3.09	3.04	2.19	2.30	2.40		3.74
1951	2.06	3.04	2.06	2.29	2.50	3.49	2.45	3.26	3.01	2.79		3.28		2.35	3.24		2.48	3.36	3.05	3.14	2.15	2.22	2.30	5.94	3.29
1952	2.09	3.17	2.06	2.33	2.54	3.61	2.54	3.35	3.06	3.76				2.29	2.96	2.07	2.61	3.52	3.08	3.13	2.16	2.24	2.32		3.60
1953	2.08	3.19	2.07	2.33	2.60	3.71	2.53	3.42	2.96	2.69	2.46			2.25	2.68		2.66	3.48	3.03	3.04	2.22	2.27	2.29		3.38
1954	2.13	3.19	2.11	2.37	2.54	3.81	2.48	3.54	2.93	2.70				2.32	2.45		2.70	3.60	3.03	2.90	2.21	2.19	2.28		3.36
1955	2.14	3.27	2.23	2.38	2.58	3.82	2.56	3.58	2.93	2.67		3.39		2.31	2.21	2.13	2.79	3.72	3.03	2.91	2.22	2.25	2.30		3.16
1956	2.23	3.30	2.41	2.40	2.59	3.84	2.59	3.68	2.91	2.66	2.31	3.41		2.30	2.03	2.07	2.86	3.77	3.05	2.92	2.36	2.21	2.25		3.02
1957	2.33	3.41	2.49	2.45	2.56	3.91	2.75	3.76	2.86	2.68	2.25	3.60		2.31	2.10	2.13	2.86	3.88	3.08	2.87	2.45	2.28	2.41		2.76
1958	2.32	3.42	2.52	2.50	2.54	3.86	2.78	3.70	2.68	2.68	2.21	3.52		2.28	2.03	2.13	2.89	3.96	3.10	3.02	2.52	2.26	2.40		2.77
1959	2.40	3.44	2.61	2.57	2.49	3.92	2.77	3.71	2.75	2.74	2.25	3.62		2.35	2.00	2.16	2.91	4.00	3.17	3.10	2.54	2.25	2.42		2.74
1960	2.37	3.44	2.69	2.56	2.54	3.88	2.79	3.65	2.71	2.73	2.20	3.73		2.37	1.95	2.23	2.88	4.03	3.12	3.18	2.67	2.20	2.44		2.80
1961	2.46	3.53	2.79	2.62	2.55	3.83	2.77	3.63	2.69	2.81	2.13	3.79	3.83	2.41	1.95		2.91	4.16	3.20	2.87	2.76	2.23	2.53		2.73
1962	2.44	3.40	2.80	2.59	2.54	3.76	2.80	3.47	2.64	2.78	2.16	3.90	3.97	2.43	1.98		2.89	4.04	3.17	3.18	2.83	2.25	2.59		2.68
1963	2.52	3.32	2.81	2.68	2.64	3.69	2.87	3.33	2.64	2.88	2.13	3.93	3.98	2.49	1.98	2.30	2.91	3.80	3.19	3.12	2.85	2.34	2.67		2.66
1964	2.55	3.13	2.77	2.71	2.60	3.52	3.00	3.20	2.53	2.90	2.24	4.08	3.97	2.62	1.88	2.40	2.96	3.59	3.17	3.08	2.89	2.48	2.68		2.64
1965	2.51	2.97	2.68	2.61	2.61	3.18	2.92	2.93	2.40	2.84	2.23	4.06	3.66	2.66	2.14		2.93	3.33	3.04	3.03	2.81	2.42	2.61		2.71
1966	2.54	2.87	2.66	2.52	2.62	2.81	2.90	2.74	2.32	2.79	2.29	3.95	3.59	2.61	1.58	2.19	2.89	3.24	2.90	2.95	2.74	2.36	2.52		2.65
1967	2.49	2.84	2.63	2.42	2.35	2.58	2.95	2.57	2.24	2.66	2.40	3.84	3.29	2.51	2.22		2.80	3.21	2.79	2.93	2.63	2.28	2.41	5.36	2.56
1968	2.39	2.88	2.59	2.31	2.12	2.43	2.88	2.47	2.07	2.58	2.40	3.77	2.99	2.46			2.75	3.16	2.69	2.85	2.55	2.27	2.30		2.48
1969	2.22	2.88	2.50	2.25	2.00	2.38	2.87	2.46	1.93	2.52	2.31	3.84	3.04	2.47			2.70	3.28	2.80	2.75	2.45	1.94	2.19		2.44
1970	2.02	2.86	2.32	2.25	1.95	2.30	2.84	2.47	1.83	2.47	2.21	3.84	2.78	2.40	2.11	1.97	2.51	3.16	2.58	2.69	2.38	1.94	2.09		2.28
1971	1.92	2.96	2.32	2.18	2.04	2.17	2.87	2.27	1.71	2.48	2.30	3.95	2.88	2.37	2.13		2.49	3.18	2.38	2.70	2.40	1.98	2.02		2.37
1972	1.71		2.14	2.09	2.03	2.01		2.02	1.58	2.42	2.30	3.88	3.09	2.34	2.13	1.72	2.39	3.01	2.17	2.89	2.20	1.93	1.92		2.35
1973	1.54	2.49	1.93	1.97	1.91	1.92		1.89	1.49	2.29	2.23	3.79	2.89	2.27	2.13	1.55	2.21	2.76	1.89		2.03	1.87	1.80	5.82	2.34
1974	1.51			1.86		1.88		1.85		2.08	2.35				2.03	1.55	2.14	2.57	1.79		1.90	1.87	1.72		2.35
1975	1.45			1.80						1.88									1.67		1.79	1.88			
1976										1.80												1.78			

Almost all countries have a similar trend for the under-20s : fertility rates increased in all countries up to 1970. They doubled in Germany, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and Norway, and are now beginning to fall where they were highest. On the other hand, in the Mediterranean countries and Ireland, where they were very low, they are continuing to rise. Between the ages of 20 and 30, the convergence of the trends is still more remarkable : once the catch-up was over, fertility again increased in the majority of countries, with the sole exception of Finland and Japan. But this rise stopped in the mid-60s and was followed by a moderate decline which is now accelerating to the point of becoming the fastest for any age-group.

Post-war lows have already been reached in many countries, for example the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Sweden, the Netherlands, the United States and Canada. The Mediterranean countries and Ireland are the only ones where the rates are not yet plummeting. Above the age of 30, fertility has declined in all countries since the war, continuously and with no temporary recovery. This decline is correspondingly steeper with advancing age ; for instance, between 1950 and 1970, fertility in Denmark fell :

- by a third between 30 and 34 years of age ;
- by half between 35 and 40 years of age ;
- by three-quarters above 40 years of age.

The corresponding figures for Belgium are :

- a quarter between 30 and 34 years of age, and then a third and a half.

Even the Mediterranean countries experienced this trend : in Italy, fertility was reduced by two-thirds beyond the age of 45, by one-half between 40 and 45 and by one-third between 35 and 39. It has remained stable only below age 35.

In order to sum up these observations, two indicators of the distribution of fertility by age are often used : the sum of these rates and the average age of mothers. The first index corresponds to the average number of children that would be born to a mother if at every age she maintained the behaviour observed during one year. This index has been calculated for each country over a fairly long period and is shown in Table I-III-7. Its trend in each country naturally resembles that of birthrates since the age structure changes slowly.

However, in almost all countries, while the large post-war cohorts reaching motherhood between 1960 and 1970 kept up the birthrate, the total fertility indices fell sharply. The average age of mothers calculated from the fertility rates by age provides another illustration of their trend : this age (Table I-III-8) fell rather quickly up to 1970 in all countries, the decrease being smaller in Southern Europe, France and Ireland and greater in the Nordic and overseas English-speaking countries.

In point of fact, these two indices do not sum up the trend of fertility rates by age effectively, since they cannot be interpreted correctly unless these rates are known. These indices are not explanatory but the outcome and result of several contradictory forces which must be identified by other means. The first visible element in the trend is the swing in the

Table I-III-8

Average age of mother at the child's birth

	1950	1960	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
NORTHERN EUROPE							
Denmark	28.4	27.2	26.3	26.3	26.2		
Finland	29.5	28.3	27.5	26.3			
Ireland		31.6	30.8	29.9			
Norway	29.8	28.5	27.4	26.3	26.2		
United Kingdom :							
England & Wales	28.5	27.8	27.2	26.4	26.3		
Scotland	28.8	27.8	27.4	26.6	26.4		
Sweden	28.6	27.8	26.7	26.5	26.5	26.5	
WESTERN EUROPE							
Germany	27.8	28.3	28.0		27.7	27.5	
Austria	28.9	28.2	27.2	26.6	26.6		26.5
Belgium	28.6	28.3	27.9	27.0			
France	27.9	27.9	28.0	27.1	27.0		
Netherlands	30.7	29.7	28.6	27.4	27.2		
Switzerlands	29.7	28.8	28.0	27.6	27.5		
SOUTHERN EUROPE							
Spain	29.5	29.9	30.1	29.4	29.1		
Greece		28.4	28.4	27.7	27.6	27.4	
Italy	29.5	29.0	28.7	28.2			
Portugal	29.7	29.2	29.2	28.8	28.7		
Yougoslavia	27.5	27.4	27.2	26.4	26.2	26.1	

Source : « Etude sur la situation économique de l'Europe en 1974 ». *Op. cit.*

rates by age : the youngest increase, while the oldest diminish.

This rejuvenation is due first of all to the lower age at marriage ; since the family is formed earlier, even if its composition remained identical, this swing would be observed and at the same time a temporary increase in the « total fertility index ». But this rejuvenation does not explain the entire movement. There are also certain changes in the construction of the family. In order to understand these, we have to know the conditions surrounding the conception of an additional child, and in particular the state of the family at that time : how many children and how old ? It is impossible to obtain this figure with the traditional statistics and only an approximation can be worked out using two methods :

- by following the formation of the family for a group of couples married in the same year ;
- by estimating the « parity-progression ratio ».

c) *Cumulative fertility, intervals, timetable*

Table I-III-9 provides another perspective of fertility : all the marriages in one year are grouped together and the dates of successive births examined. Two phenomena will be noted : the first two births are more numerous in new families and subsequent births less numerous as from the fourth, and, secondly, the first births occur more quickly and the later births more slowly.

Thus, the first two children are born sooner after marriage, but later children are spaced at longer intervals. This change affects the fertility rates : since first births are more numerous and earlier, the fertility rates at the younger ages should rise and those at the older ages should fall, as births are then fewer and farther between.

On the other hand, the recent reversal of this trend brings all these factors into play : in the past five years, the age at marriage has stopped falling, the interval between marriage and the first birth has increased, and we do not know whether the proportion of childless couples will rise in these cohorts. The most recent data for certain countries (the Nordic countries, Federal Germany, Switzerland) seem to show that the arrival of a second child is not only postponed but has been ruled out by many couples married in recent years. After following the pattern of the family with two children, certain couples now seem to prefer one child only.

The rise in out-of-wedlock births and in divorces in most OECD countries (see Chapter V) makes speculation of this kind rather hazardous, however. Furthermore, the families are not yet complete and the measuring procedure is imperfect, for while it is possible to deduce from it the distribution of the interval between marriage and birth, it is not possible to obtain the distribution of the subsequent intervals, since couples who have had an only child cannot be distinguished. Thus, if such couples (as several surveys show) have their child longer after marriage than couples whose family will be larger, the interval between first and second births may lengthen, although these second births occur more rapidly. But these changes in the « timetable » of family formation are not the only ones and even the size of families has evolved considerably over the last 30 years or so.

There are two, likewise imperfect, means of checking this. The first is quite simply to take the percentage of different birth orders in each period (Table I-III-10). This method is influenced by age structures and changes in the timetable, but the result is quite clear-cut and also corresponds better to the phenomenon as actually experienced by the population. Returning to Table I-III-9, we see how first and second births entirely supplant subsequent births so that the present trend is towards the disappearance of large families. Given the distortion this introduces when children are classified according to the size of their family, this phenomenon is important. Twenty years ago, the child's world was one of large families, now it is becoming one of small families.

The other way of checking the trend in family size, (which again is imperfect) consists in calculating « parity-progression probabilities » according to the following principle : if we know the intervals between births of successive order, we can calculate the probability that a birth will occur at time *t* in a family of *R* children, the last of whom was born *k* years previously.

Assuming that these probabilities apply throughout the existence of a family, we can fully reconstitute their distribution according to final size. We prefer to describe this distribution by calculating the probability that a family of *R* children still increases, whatever the interval required : this is the parity-progression probability.

The principle of such an index may be argued, but that is probably not the most serious consideration ; the distribution of the intervals between births is very rarely available, so these parity-progression probabilities are calculated by using a standard distribution structure of such intervals, which is an acrobatic feat.

The parity-progression probabilities shown in Graph I-III-11 have been calculated in this way by the Economic Commission for Europe. Whether because of this imprecision in the calculation or else because more complex situations than those discussed are involued, the description given must nevertheless be qualified : as from the third child, parity-progression probabilities become identical. After remaining relatively steady, they have been rapidly falling since 1965.

The progression probabilities of families with no children or an only child show a very different trend. They have increased since the end of the war in all countries up to 1965, after which they either remain steady (Italy, France, the Netherlands) or begin to fall slowly (Belgium, Austria, Norway) or quickly (Denmark, Finland, Germany). These features as a whole confirm the various observations made and

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Table I-III-9

Cumulative fertility per 1,000 women according to year of marriage, duration of marriage and birth order

Year of marriage	Birth order	Duration of marriage (years) 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
BELGIUM																						
1948	1		349	555	639	687	720	742	758	769	778	783	788	792	794	796	797	798	799	799	800	800
	2		3	61	174	258	322	372	409	436	457	473	485	494	501	506	511	513	516	517	518	158
	3		—	3	18	59	102	140	175	202	226	246	262	274	284	292	299	303	307	309	311	312
	4		—	—	2	7	23	44	65	86	105	120	135	146	156	164	170	176	180	183	185	186
1953	1		346	562	649	700	735	760	776	789	798	805	809	813	815	817	819	820				
	2		4	65	194	288	357	413	454	485	509	527	541	552	560	566	570	573				
	3		—	3	19	66	115	160	198	230	256	278	296	311	322	331	337	341				
	4		—	—	1	7	25	49	73	95	117	135	152	165	174	183	188	193				
1958	1		370	595	680	732	767	790	808	819	828	834	839									
	2		3	72	219	326	405	463	507	538	560	577	590									
	3		—	3	20	73	132	183	225	256	282	302	318									
	4		—	—	1	7	26	52	78	101	120	136	149									
1963	1		398	629	713	763	796	819														
	2		4	86	241	355	434	490														
	3		—	3	21	66	119	165														
	4		—	—	1	6	17	35														
FRANCE																						
1948	1		383	600	670	707	730	745	755	763	769	774	778	781	783	785	787	788	789	789	789	789
	2		14	103	248	348	419	468	503	528	548	562	573	581	586	590	593	595	596	597	598	598
	3		2	9	38	97	155	205	245	278	304	325	342	355	365	373	379	384	387	389	391	392
	4		—	1	4	15	38	66	93	117	138	156	172	184	194	203	210	215	219	222	224	226
1953	1		390	603	684	733	766	788	804	815	824	830	835	838	840	842	843	844	845			
	2		8	100	248	361	441	498	538	568	590	606	618	627	634	639	643	645	647			
	3		1	6	32	92	154	208	251	287	315	338	356	370	381	389	396	401	404			
	4		—	1	3	10	31	60	87	112	134	153	169	182	193	201	208	214	218			
1958	1		404	640	737	790	825	849	864	875	882	888	892	895								
	2		6	91	247	365	451	514	559	592	615	632	644	653								
	3		2	23	80	141	196	241	277	306	328	346	360									
	4		—	—	7	7	27	53	79	103	123	140	154	165								
1963	1		424	661	757	812	847	871	888													
	2		5	96	249	368	456	521	571													
	3		—	2	23	73	127	175	218													
	4		—	—	1	7	23	42	62													
ITALY																						
1948	1	126	585	729	780	804	818	827	833	837	840	842	844	845	846	847	848	848	848	848	848	
	2	3	23	124	264	370	448	506	548	578	600	617	629	638	645	650	653	656	658	659	660	
	3	—	1	6	24	65	118	170	213	247	276	299	318	333	345	354	361	366	370	373	375	
	4	—	—	1	2	7	18	38	63	88	110	128	145	158	169	178	185	191	195	198	200	
1953	1	111	571	723	781	809	825	835	842	847	850	853	855	856	857	858	859	859	859			
	2	1	14	112	254	365	448	510	555	588	612	630	644	654	661	666	669	671	672			
	3	—	—	3	21	63	115	165	208	243	272	296	317	333	345	354	361	366	369			
	4	—	—	—	1	6	18	38	62	85	105	123	139	152	163	172	179	184	188			
1958	1	103	587	747	806	834	850	860	866	870	873	875	877	878								
	2	1	15	119	268	387	489	551	600	635	658	674	686	694								
	3	—	1	5	25	68	121	173	217	254	283	307	327	342								

	2	3	22	134	285	407	501	570	618												
	3	—	2	7	27	68	115	160	199												
	4	—	—	—	1	6	17	32													

NETHERLANDS

1948	1	129	514	664	729	764	783	795	803	808	812	814	816	817	818	819	820	820	820	820	820
	2	2	24	166	320	430	507	561	597	623	640	652	661	666	670	673	675	677	678	679	679
	3	—	—	7	51	130	201	259	306	344	375	398	415	428	438	445	450	454	457	459	460
	4	—	—	—	3	19	55	91	127	158	185	207	225	239	252	262	270	275	279	282	284
1953	1	115	493	655	730	769	792	806	815	821	825	828	830	831	832	833	833	833	833		
	2	1	21	150	306	430	519	582	622	650	670	683	692	698	702	705	707	708	709		
	3	—	1	6	42	111	179	241	292	334	368	394	415	429	439	446	451	455	457		
	4	—	—	—	2	14	44	78	111	142	170	193	213	227	238	246	252	257	260		
1958	1	110	500	673	756	798	823	839	848	854	858	861	863	864							
	2	1	20	149	318	456	558	625	670	698	716	728	736	741							
	3	—	—	5	39	106	177	244	298	340	371	394	414	426							
	4	—	—	—	2	13	37	68	96	121	143	161	177	189							
1963	1	120	518	703	786	830	855	870													
	2	1	23	144	311	462	571	643													
	3	—	—	5	28	74	130	189													
	4	—	—	—	1	5	16	32													

SWEDEN

1953	1	197	444	550	610	648	672	687	697	704	709	713	716	718	719	720	721	722	722		
	2	12	50	134	232	327	408	465	506	534	553	568	579	587	593	597	599	600	601		
	3	3	9	18	35	61	90	122	151	178	202	222	241	256	267	275	280	283	285		
	4	1	2	3	6	10	17	26	35	45	55	64	74	83	91	96	100	103	105		
1958	1	189	455	564	631	669	693	709	718	724	728	732	734	736							
	2	13	50	132	236	343	437	511	559	592	613	626	634	639							
	3	1	4	12	26	51	83	121	158	193	220	240	254	265							
	4	—	—	1	3	7	2	0	0	9	9	7	4	0							
1963	1	197	485	607	674	710	731	744	752	757	761	764	766								
	2	12	56	157	288	421	514	576	615												
	3	1	5	13	29	54	81	112	143												
	4	—	—	1	3	6	9	14	19												

SWITZERLAND

1948	1	154	510	635	691	720	739	750	758	763	767	770	772	774	775	775	776	776	776	776	776
	2	4	49	193	327	427	495	540	570	590	604	614	620	624	627	628	630	631	632	633	633
	3	—	2	15	60	124	182	231	271	301	324	341	353	362	369	374	378	381	382	383	384
	4	—	—	1	5	20	45	72	98	119	138	154	166	176	184	190	195	198	201	204	206
1953	1	160	517	645	708	742	763	775	784	789	792	795	797	799	800	801	802	802	802		
	2	3	47	192	336	446	520	568	600	622	636	646	653	658	662	664	665	666	667		
	3	—	2	14	59	122	182	235	275	309	332	351	366	376	384	389	392	395	396		
	4	—	—	1	4	17	40	66	92	114	130	145	158	168	176	181	184	187	189		
1958	1	169	549	677	740	776	798	810	819	824	827	830	832	833							
	2	4	48	202	356	467	544	595	628	651	667	679	687	692							
	3	—	2	14	59	124	186	238	276	307	328	344	355	368							
	4	—	—	1	4	17	39	64	86	104	119	130	138	144							
1963	1	193	596	744	817	863	884	897	905												
	2	5	51	199	352	498	580	635	672												
	3	—	2	12	49	110	157	197	228												
	4	—	—	1	3	13	25	38	50												

Source : Etude sur la situation économique de l'Europe en 1974, *op. cit.*

Table I-III-10

Division of women by age and number of children already born for certain countries

Age	Female population	By number of children										No indication
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8-9	10 and over	
GERMANY, 1970												
15 plus	19 892 159	3 631 862	5 353 137	5 472 550	2 804 889	1 262 157	566 170	287 809	141 216	77 860	92 300	2 409
15 - 19	140 544	61 633	72 123	6 435	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	351
20 - 24	962 864	339 396	430 741	160 310	27 773	4 009	1	1	1	—	—	632
25 - 29	1 658 871	332 212	601 972	511 452	159 870	39 268	9 630	3 002	879	1	1	324
30 - 34	2 055 861	236 087	554 843	743 883	340 867	115 840	39 567	14 750	5 918	2 571	1 635	100
35 - 39	1 664 876	173 464	395 670	551 149	306 510	133 955	55 624	25 871	11 407	5 887	5 539	—
40 - 44	1 756 264	232 106	497 025	537 501	288 199	128 995	57 447	27 498	13 120	6 377	7 996	—
45 - 49	1 946 211	304 275	527 826	570 256	300 669	133 906	57 178	26 250	12 214	6 120	7 517	—
50 - 54	1 320 686	217 856	357 942	379 402	201 252	90 998	38 939	17 806	8 450	3 970	4 071	—
55 - 59	1 988 473	348 985	513 620	551 451	309 973	142 125	61 384	30 998	14 785	6 978	8 174	—
60 - 64	1 907 965	390 183	462 167	486 863	281 033	141 151	68 349	36 783	18 645	10 431	12 360	—
65 - 69	1 595 286	380 132	380 332	369 475	214 290	117 272	60 171	33 262	16 891	10 133	13 328	—
70 - 74	1 231 375	300 729	294 755	278 968	160 787	88 071	45 665	27 136	13 840	8 941	11 481	1 002
75 Plus	1 463 083	314 804	304 121	325 405	213 865	126 66	72 215	44 192	25 066	16 651	20 198	—
Inconnu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
BELGIUM, 1970												
15 Plus	3 078 282	473 836	778 159	676 157	379 425	214 080	115 202	64 979	37 860	36 392	21 064	281 128
15 - 19	24 451	11 321	8 526	1 150	83	6	—	—	—	—	—	3 365
20 - 24	212 003	78 808	77 629	29 219	6 491	1 411	288	45	15	1	—	18 296
25 - 29	249 845	43 850	82 606	67 571	25 421	8 560	2 606	794	294	80	5	17 858
30 - 34	271 691	27 127	66 096	80 148	45 226	20 975	8 136	3 192	1 336	818	145	18 492
35 - 39	292 824	26 691	65 164	76 234	48 646	28 306	14 097	6 903	3 279	2 521	822	20 161
40 - 44	302 276	30 929	68 205	71 851	45 522	28 288	15 921	8 726	4 935	4 204	1 981	21 714
45 - 49	305 191	36 565	73 090	68 902	41 910	25 848	14 474	8 610	5 064	4 681	2 531	23 516
50 - 54	212 037	27 296	51 006	46 453	28 096	17 028	9 875	5 867	3 520	3 409	2 059	17 428
55 - 59	258 649	36 854	63 528	54 728	31 968	19 617	11 289	6 859	4 202	4 094	2 564	22 946
60 - 64	261 877	41 292	65 664	51 939	30 479	18 267	10 871	6 629	4 054	4 365	2 842	25 475
65 Plus	687 638	113 303	156 645	127 962	75 583	45 774	27 645	17 354	11 161	12 219	8 115	91 877
Inconnu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SPAIN, 1970												
15 Plus	9 148 702	1 200 346	1 479 428	2 265 837	1 593 339	996 234	597 838	382 706	235 482	156 155	241 337	—
15 - 19	41 475	20 493	15 675	3 818	1 007	241	90	151	—	—	—	—
20 - 24	399 607	143 423	167 603	65 383	16 278	4 350	1 283	777	239	80	191	—
25 - 29	820 470	129 911	297 439	256 951	91 195	28 851	9 671	3 967	1 334	513	638	—
30 - 34	904 019	70 191	167 184	338 187	188 303	80 605	32 378	14 913	6 613	2 845	2 800	—
35 - 39	1 063 360	77 579	137 015	345 834	244 067	130 670	62 430	31 751	15 749	8 623	9 642	—
40 - 44	1 035 719	85 964	131 363	291 906	223 018	134 737	72 904	41 294	22 519	13 418	18 596	—
45 - 49	952 736	94 435	129 084	245 863	189 292	120 366	70 688	42 424	24 138	14 641	21 805	—
50 - 54	797 290	94 330	110 105	187 050	147 023	100 499	61 363	38 655	22 959	14 662	20 644	—
55 - 59	760 622	98 225	98 198	161 519	134 753	96 643	64 178	41 613	25 421	16 130	23 942	—
60 - 64	706 530	98 920	80 336	132 534	118 890	91 883	62 691	43 726	28 403	19 746	29 401	—
65 - 69	608 906	93 693	59 973	100 078	95 410	78 971	57 341	42 486	29 001	19 886	32 067	—
70 - 74	459 023	78 220	39 961	65 574	66 642	57 381	44 406	34 270	24 182	18 019	30 368	—
75 Plus	598 945	114 962	45 492	71 140	77 461	71 037	58 415	46 679	34 924	27 592	51 243	—
Inconnu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
UNITED STATES, 1970												
15 Plus	60 281 962	9 788 579	10 845 337	14 535 667	10 413 720	6 269 235		5 348 213		3 081 211		
15 - 19	1 127 981	574 114	429 590	96 664	19 148	5 553		2 912		—		
20 - 24	5 325 205	1 903 129	1 845 492	1 097 823	332 097	97 842		40 957		7 865		
25 - 29	5 994 189	946 217	1 298 981	1 905 648	1 083 570	465 965		248 688		45 120		
30 - 34	5 422 512	449 482	644 020	1 442 678	1 817 179	808 794		586 469		173 890		
35 - 39	5 375 207	394 100	535 302	1 224 382	1 246 565	884 314		762 550		327 994		
40 - 44	5 822 110	502 218	677 406	1 381 689	1 257 512	854 230		794 457		394 598		
45 - 49	5 916 123	629 552	838 636	1 521 041	1 195 598	742 228		635 495		353 573		
50 - 54	5 409 587	747 266	912 769	1 420 537	988 747	574 379		478 084		287 805		
55 - 59	4 896 765	860 320	929 584	1 229 256	786 901	444 148		386 876		259 680		
60 - 64	4 276 857	851 649	851 734	996 349	621 480	361 272		339 072		255 301		
65 Plus	10 715 420	1 930 532	1 881 823	2 219 600	1 564 923	1 030 510		1 112 653		975 385		

JAPAN, 1970

15 Plus	30 599 035	3 306 245	5 197 600	8 534 315	5 132 940	2 832 965	1 836 165	1 258 585	845 105	880 120	285 415	489 580
15 - 19	97 845	51 890	28 170	9 030	4 260	—	—	—	—	—	—	4 495
20 - 24	1 520 730	685 240	619 505	147 585	24 160	8 965	5 975	—	—	—	—	29 300
25 - 29	3 754 235	616 360	1 492 450	1 344 960	227 875	24 470	3 795	1 110	565	—	—	42 650
30 - 34	3 906 950	269 400	747 555	2 035 385	677 405	108 235	19 540	5 085	1 575	1 170	—	41 600
35 - 39	3 853 855	238 405	557 340	1 841 265	872 885	211 370	50 830	15 235	5 135	2 695	440	58 260
40 - 44	3 474 225	246 695	446 055	1 247 250	938 395	365 085	115 830	38 375	13 065	7 180	1 305	54 985
45 - 49	3 071 515	237 900	340 040	725 930	846 895	512 570	219 615	85 615	32 660	17 765	2 990	49 525
50 - 54	2 573 170	210 375	259 900	395 430	545 900	503 090	322 130	166 140	74 570	44 775	7 300	43 565
55 - 59	2 330 195	195 275	208 870	258 110	341 830	386 435	348 270	253 925	152 360	120 670	23 960	40 480
60 - 64	1 938 270	171 250	164 820	182 795	224 990	252 050	256 825	230 245	176 725	189 475	53 190	35 905
65 - 69	1 569 190	141 565	129 115	137 255	168 705	184 465	191 455	178 385	148 225	186 425	71 345	32 245
70 - 74	1 162 755	112 585	96 135	97 825	120 800	130 365	139 930	131 750	111 025	140 535	56 470	25 335
75 Plus	1 346 100	129 310	107 650	111 490	138 835	145 860	161 965	152 715	129 195	169 425	68 415	31 240
Inconnu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

PORTUGAL, 1970

15 Plus	3 315 590	1 127 815	585 170	549 860	327 770	217 085	150 660	109 605	77 890	98 655	71 080	—
15 - 19	375 410	364 305	8 850	1 505	750	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20 - 24	330 095	237 145	61 850	22 530	5 755	1 710	1 105	—	—	—	—	—
25 - 29	277 395	93 540	84 625	59 585	22 830	9 565	4 220	1 665	840	525	—	—
30 - 34	283 630	53 050	68 595	76 320	37 270	20 810	12 555	7 270	3 670	3 160	930	—
35 - 39	293 075	45 865	60 505	74 875	40 365	24 750	15 655	11 225	7 375	8 160	4 300	—
40 - 44	290 345	47 155	57 715	64 580	38 915	25 320	16 520	11 880	8 375	11 770	8 915	—
45 - 49	270 445	47 190	51 785	54 770	34 880	23 065	16 295	11 890	8 910	11 680	9 980	—
50 - 54	235 320	45 515	40 495	43 345	30 155	20 885	14 700	11 685	8 380	10 960	9 200	—
55 - 59	233 565	45 855	37 785	40 720	29 795	21 425	15 975	12 035	8 780	12 055	9 140	—
60 - 64	226 095	47 390	35 360	36 735	26 855	21 540	15 800	12 555	9 425	11 940	8 495	—
65 - 69	186 185	38 370	27 650	28 855	22 750	17 895	13 615	11 015	8 310	10 910	7 215	—
70 - 74	139 470	28 515	21 615	20 815	16 875	13 570	10 420	8 295	6 005	7 990	5 770	—
75 Plus	174 560	33 920	28 340	25 225	20 975	16 550	13 800	10 090	7 820	10 365	7 535	—
Inconnu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

TURKEY, 1970

15 Plus	8 574 178	1 054 823	944 187	1 143 858	1 128 369	1 016 112	887 590	713 788	536 532	682 989	465 930	—
15 - 19	437 192	256 973	128 685	37 571	10 843	3 114	6	—	—	—	—	—
20 - 24	1 095 694	261 747	328 540	274 854	141 622	58 725	21 813	7 953	216	196	28	—
25 - 29	1 104 178	111 009	147 543	254 092	231 375	169 742	96 876	54 791	25 524	12 976	250	—
30 - 34	1 101 872	69 380	55 900	142 083	188 370	188 955	166 101	120 936	77 159	69 487	23 501	—
35 - 39	1 081 114	55 191	37 304	98 390	145 144	158 717	157 545	131 431	105 037	129 357	62 998	—
40 - 44	878 249	48 230	36 665	74 211	100 202	109 186	108 472	100 949	83 525	124 402	92 407	—
45 - 49	972 413	34 848	30 804	49 495	62 873	70 525	64 179	63 968	50 795	80 205	64 721	—
50 - 54	503 123	38 340	30 062	42 982	52 219	55 198	60 511	54 498	43 466	64 341	61 506	—
55 - 59	443 927	32 820	30 145	39 305	47 475	51 768	52 656	47 227	41 785	55 090	45 256	—
60 - 64	526 516	49 148	41 588	44 654	52 751	58 286	60 911	55 485	47 504	63 332	52 857	—
65 - 69	319 182	32 153	23 761	28 940	35 960	35 299	39 837	33 828	24 971	37 145	27 288	—
70- 74	251 992	28 883	24 819	27 724	29 494	26 385	29 587	20 991	19 348	24 975	19 786	—
75 plus	259 126	36 101	28 371	29 557	30 041	30 212	29 096	21 731	17 202	21 483	15 332	—
Inconnu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

YUGOSLAVIA, 1971

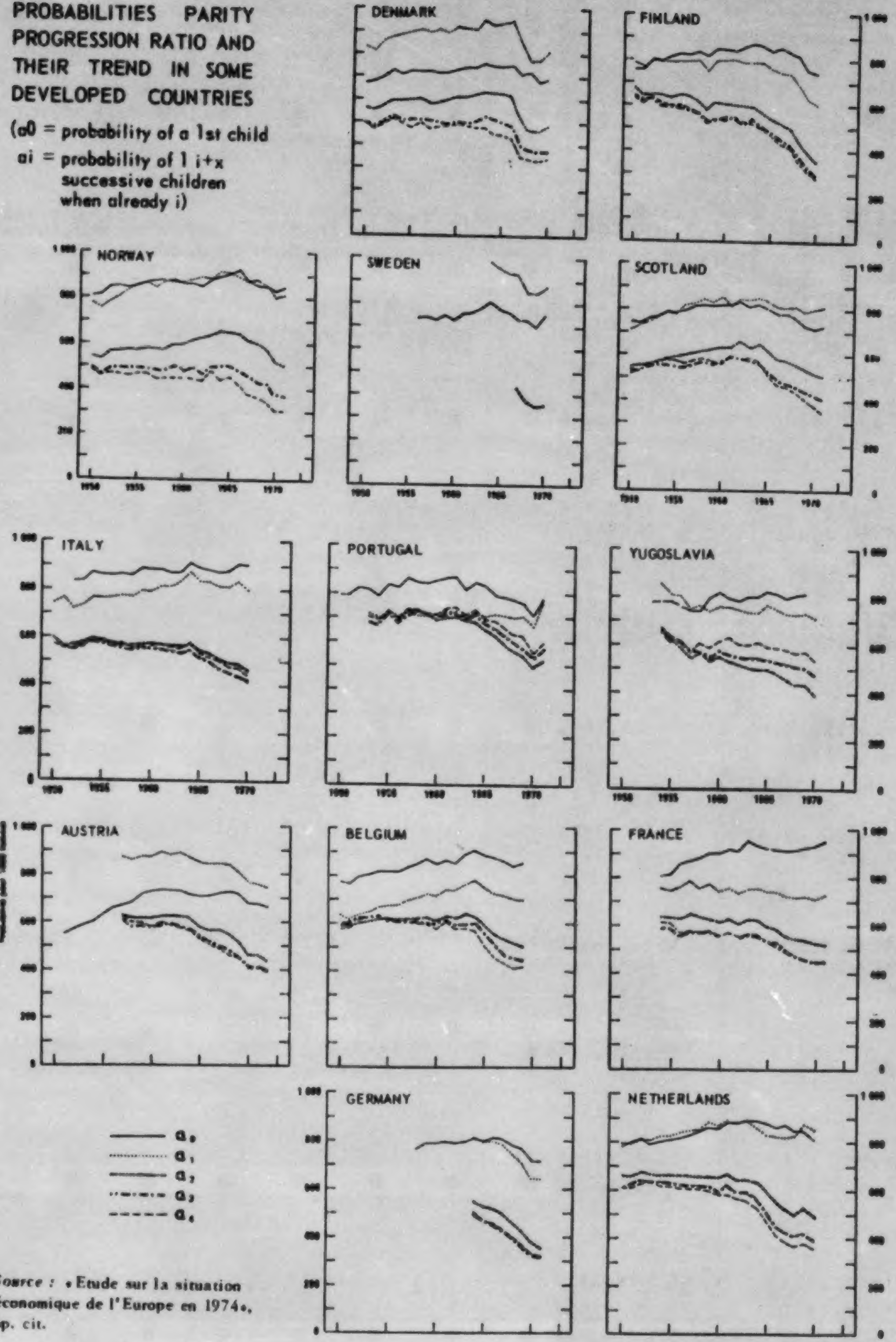
15 Plus	7 760 740	2 212 479	1 298 913	1 640 342	868 824	534 021	358 375	260 637	189 962	236 958	146 270	13 959
15 - 19	971 489	906 438	55 729	7 439	806	138	—	—	—	—	—	939
20 - 24	854 108	440 430	267 101	116 902	22 126	5 197	1 238	271	42	—	—	801
25 - 29	841 884	129 775	191 705	212 709	63 038	25 963	11 326	4 543	1 519	669	165	472
30 - 34	761 017	106 482	166 016	276 812	104 246	48 596	27 200	16 015	8 441	5 510	1 155	544
35 - 39	799 279	96 788	145 289	269 991	126 586	63 103	36 252	23 575	18 100	15 729	5 201	665
40 - 44	767 497	95 207	122 693	227 770	129 184	70 475	41 965	27 556	18 716	22 066	11 213	652
45 - 49	663 158	89 644	100 143	168 465	110 844	67 934	42 570	28 642	18 998	22 366	12 876	676
50 - 54	399 414	52 987	53 089	81 806	62 568	43 596	30 643	22 470	16 684	21 368	13 765	438
55 - 59	464 962	64 078	55 800	82 151	68 329	52 518	39 049	30 028	22 543	29 895	19 969	602
60 - 64	467 119	64 953	50 330	74 233	64 777	52 584	41 455	33 560	26 062	34 985	23 529	651
65 - 69	368 708	52 250	36 178	51 825	48 477	41 986	33 648	28 400	22 570	31 285	21 498	591
70 - 74	276 239	41 805	25 564	34 298	33 467	30 456	25 862	22 112	18 534	25 789	17 721	631
75 Plus	279 176	41 068	26 341	33 331	33 101	30 625	26 575	22 979	19 402	26 751	18 486	517
Inconnu	46 690	30 574	2 935	2 610	1 275	850	592	486	351	545	692	5 780

Source : Annuaires démographiques des Nations-Unies.

Graph I.III.11

PROBABILITIES PARITY PROGRESSION RATIO AND THEIR TREND IN SOME DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

(a0 = probability of a 1st child
ai = probability of 1 i+x successive children when already i)



Source : « Etude sur la situation économique de l'Europe en 1974 », op. cit.

which may be restated from the family standpoint.

From 1950 to 1965, a certain type of family made its appearance in most OECD countries, characterized by more and earlier marriages, and the rapid birth of two children followed by a slowdown or halt in family building. Since 1965, this alignment on the pattern of the early family with two children has begun to change and in every component : there is a larger number of families with no children or an only child, longer intervals between successive births, later age at marriage and a reduction in its frequency, more illegitimate births and more divorces.

It would be ridiculous to deduce from this that the family is in danger, but it seems that new patterns are being established and that they are not identical in every country. However, a superficial view, using total fertility indices, for example, could lead to the opposite conclusion since these indices have been falling simultaneously in all countries since 1965. The only common point is the ineluctable disappearance of large families.

Nor should we forget the theoretical and practical imperfections of these measurements of fertility. The family is approached indirectly and partially, local variations in fertility are overlooked. Attention is gradually focussed on a normal family, i.e. a family in which the parents are married and remain so, which neither adopts nor legitimates and in which the children do not die.

This picture is the result of a heroic reconstitution of the demographic family. If we want a better view of the childhood environment, we must proceed differently. The following chapter examines these criticisms and describes practical and theoretical remedies.

Chapter IV

IMPOSSIBILITY OF DESCRIBING THE FAMILY AND ITS CYCLE THROUGH DEMOGRAPHIC MODELS

In spite of the importance and refinement of its measurements, the study of fertility finally fails in its representation of the family. Such study in geared to forecasting, because of a kind of anxiety that States have regarding their future reproduction. Regional, racial and occupational differences are swept under the carpet and that constant fiction of the homogeneous State once again imposed. The living conditions and environment of individuals, children or adults are ignored in favour of a national mean. It is not surprising, therefore, that we cannot recognise families in the ordinary sense of the term, with parents, children and possibly grandparents, cousins and grandchildren — real families who live in or share a *dwelling* in order to form a *household.*

Nor can this curious point of view be explained even by the concern for efficiency : forecasts of fertility are impossible at present and, even if they could be trusted, they would not be essential since, at the overall level of the State, children represent a minor burden. It is at local level that children may represent heavy infrastructure costs (day nurseries, infants' schools, welfare clinics, primary schools). But these infrastructure demands depend as much on fertility as on internal mobility, and forecasting at this level is very little advanced, unlike overall forecasting at State level. In order to describe the child's surroundings, it is necessary to use other data, and if they are not available to try to approximate them by combining known parameters. Before exploring these possibilities, we shall enumerate the defects of the demographic description.

1. VARIATIONS IN FERTILITY

The criteria by which fertility is broken down have been age, duration of marriage and birth order. Age is used to remove the effect of the age structure, as is the duration of marriage : different periods or populations can then be compared. But these effects of the age structure are minor compared with other differences in fertility : regional and occupational differences, differences according to religion and political opinion.

People do not procreate on the same principle as when they buy an electric household appliance or choose a new suit : they procreate in accordance with an idea of the family inculcated by their own original family or by the families they know, and also by the ideology they have adopted. Such group behaviour covers quite extensive cultural areas in which the same style of family is to be found :

Table I-IV-1

Birth rates in the Yugoslavian republics from 1953 to 1973

	1953	1958	1963	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Yugoslavia	28.4	24.0	21.4	19.1	18.9	17.8	18.3	18.3	18.0
Bosnia-Herzegovina	38.5	35.3	30.7	24.6	23.9	21.4	22.0	21.5	19.8
Montenegro	32.9	30.2	26.7	21.4	21.7	20.3	20.5	20.3	17.2
Croatia	22.9	19.0	16.5	14.9	14.5	13.9	14.6	14.8	15.1
Macedonia	37.9	32.7	28.4	25.4	25.1	23.2	22.9	22.7	22.2
Slovenia	22.4	18.1	18.0	16.9	16.3	16.0	16.3	16.5	17.5
Serbia									
Total	26.6	21.2	19.1	18.0	18.3	17.5	17.9	18.1	18.0
Serbia	25.3	18.7	16.0	14.8	15.2	14.8	14.8	15.1	15.5
Voïvodina	22.4	16.6	15.6	14.1	13.6	13.0	13.4	13.6	13.3
Kosovo	42.6	44.1	40.7	38.5	39.1	36.5	37.5	37.1	35.3

Source : Yugoslavia statistic yearbooks.

Table I-IV-2

Variations in fertility by department and region in France in 1968 : *(Gross reproduction)*

Departments Programme Regions	Average number of children per woman	Gross repro-duction rate	Index base 100 all France	Average Age of mothers at confine-ment
54 Meurthe-et-Moselle	2.67	1.30	103	27.44
55 Meuse	3.02	1.47	117	27.54
57 Moselle	2.95	1.44	114	27.18
88 Vosges	2.94	1.43	114	27.60
41 Lorraine	2.86	1.39	110	27.37
67 Bas-Rhin	2.72	1.33	105	27.29
68 Haut-Rhin	2.69	1.31	104	27.28
42 Alsace	2.71	1.32	105	27.28
25 Doubs	2.88	1.41	111	27.60
39 Jura	2.82	1.38	109	27.42
70 Haute-Saône	2.96	1.44	114	27.51
90 Territoire de Belfort	2.69	1.31	104	26.90
43 Franche-Comté	2.86	1.40	110	27.50
44 Loire-Atlantique	2.81	1.37	109	27.54
49 Maine-et-Loire	3.08	1.50	119	27.80
53 Mayenne	3.03	1.48	117	27.38
72 Sarthe	3.00	1.46	116	27.14
85 Vendée	3.04	1.48	117	27.41
52 Pays-de-la-Loire	2.96	1.44	114	27.50
22 Côtes-du-Nord	2.97	1.45	115	27.47
29 Finistère	2.90	1.42	112	27.61
35 Ille-et-Vilaine	2.83	1.38	109	27.83
56 Morbihan	3.09	1.51	119	27.63
53 Bretagne	2.93	1.43	113	27.66
16 Charente	2.67	1.30	103	26.74
17 Charente-Maritime	2.72	1.33	105	26.54
79 Deux-Sèvres	2.95	1.44	114	27.14
86 Vienne	2.60	1.27	101	27.11
54 Poitou-Charentes	2.73	1.33	105	26.86
24 Dordogne	2.39	1.17	93	26.82
33 Gironde	2.36	1.15	91	27.12
40 Landes	2.55	1.25	99	27.26
47 Lot-et-Garonne	2.45	1.20	95	26.93
64 Basses-Pyrénées	2.58	1.26	100	27.83
72 Aquitaine	2.44	1.19	94	27.23
75 Ville de Paris	1.83	0.89	71	27.45
77 Seine-et-Marne	2.70	1.32	104	26.89
78 Yvelines	2.48	1.21	96	27.15
91 Essonne	2.58	1.26	100	26.89
92 Hauts-de-Seine	2.10	1.03	81	27.20
93 Seine-Saint-Denis	2.42	1.18	93	26.76
94 Val-de-Marne	2.30	1.12	89	26.86
95 Val-d'Oise	2.48	1.21	96	26.85
11 Région Parisienne	2.19	1.07	85	27.11
08 Ardennes	3.22	1.57	124	27.28
10 Aube	2.69	1.31	104	26.93
51 Marne	2.83	1.38	109	27.10
52 Haute-Marne	3.15	1.54	122	27.25
21 Champagne	2.94	1.43	114	27.15
02 Aisne	2.98	1.46	115	27.15
60 Oise	3.00	1.46	116	27.08
80 Somme	3.06	1.49	118	27.38
22 Picardie	3.01	1.47	116	27.20
27 Eure	2.99	1.46	115	27.08
76 Seine-Maritime	2.83	1.38	109	27.14
23 Haute-Normandie	2.87	1.40	111	27.13
France entière	2.59	1.26	100	27.30
09 Ariège	2.32	1.13	90	27.30
12 Aveyron	2.50	1.22	97	28.01
31 Haute-Garonne	2.19	1.07	85	27.38
32 Gers	2.37	1.16	91	27.30
46 Lot	2.41	1.18	93	27.46
65 Hautes-Pyrénées	2.40	1.17	93	27.37
81 Tarn	2.38	1.16	92	27.43
82 Tarn-et-Garonne	2.51	1.23	97	27.34
73 Midi-Pyrénées	2.33	1.14	90	27.48
19 Corrèze	2.35	1.15	91	27.06
23 Creuse	2.52	1.23	97	26.86
87 Haute-Vienne	2.18	1.06	84	26.83
74 Limousin	2.29	1.12	89	26.92
01 Ain	2.67	1.30	103	27.31
07 Ardèche	2.66	1.30	103	28.03
26 Drôme	2.70	1.32	104	27.40
38 Isère	2.53	1.23	98	27.61
42 Loire	2.64	1.29	102	27.87
69 Rhône	2.49	1.21	96	27.63
73 Savoie	2.56	1.25	99	27.79
74 Haute-Savoie	2.59	1.26	100	27.52
82 Rhône-Alpes	2.57	1.25	99	27.65
03 Allier	2.43	1.18	94	26.93
15 Cantal	2.81	1.37	109	27.59
43 Haute-Loire	2.59	1.27	100	28.15
63 Puy-de-Dôme	2.41	1.18	93	27.16
83 Auvergne	2.49	1.21	96	27.32
11 Aude	2.36	1.15	91	27.23
30 Gard	2.50	1.22	97	27.37
34 Hérault	2.27	1.11	88	27.68
48 Lozère	2.63	1.28	101	28.40
66 Pyrénées-Orientales	2.46	1.20	95	27.44
91 Languedoc-Roussillon	2.39	1.17	92	27.53
04 Basses-Alpes	2.52	1.23	97	27.20
05 Hautes-Alpes	2.49	1.21	96	27.66
06 Alpes-Maritimes	1.90	0.93	73	27.10
13 Bouches-du-Rhône	2.33	1.14	90	27.46
83 Var	2.43	1.19	94	26.80
84 Vaucluse	2.59	1.26	100	27.12
93 Provence-Côte-d'Azur	2.29	1.12	89	27.24
20 Corse	2.39	1.17	92	26.89
18 Cher	2.64	1.29	102	26.83
28 Eure-et-Loir	2.87	1.40	111	27.12
36 Indre	2.67	1.30	103	26.60
37 Indre-et-Loire	2.75	1.34	106	27.13
41 Loir-et-Cher	2.75	1.34	106	27.01
45 Loiret	2.69	1.31	104	27.02
24 Centre	2.73	1.33	105	26.99
14 Calvados	2.85	1.39	110	27.46
50 Manche	2.99	1.46	116	27.59
61 Orne	2.91	1.42	113	27.47
25 Basse-Normandie	2.91	1.42	112	27.51
21 Côte-d'Or	2.70	1.32	104	27.39
58 Nièvre	2.52	1.23	97	27.02
71 Saône-et-Loire	2.81	1.37	108	27.30
89 Yonne	2.88	1.40	111	26.89
26 Bourgogne	2.74	1.34	106	27.22
59 Nord	3.00	1.46	116	27.41
62 Pas-de-Calais	3.05	1.49	118	27.17
31 Région du Nord	3.02	1.47	117	27.32

Source : « Données de démographie régionale » 1968, Labat J. C., J. Viseur, INSEE, Paris 1973, D23.

Table I-IV-3

General fertility rate by age group in Switzerland to nationality

Age	Swiss		Foreigners	
	1959-62	1969-72	1959-62	1969-72
15-19	15.4	16.8	26.4	57.2
20-24	144.1	111.2	95.5	148.4
25-29	185.3	139.3	118.3	130.8
30-34	115.8	80.9	81.1	84.7
35-39	55.6	34.0	40.6	45.4
40-44	18.0	9.2	13.9	13.2
45-49	1.4	0.8	0.6	1.0

Source : « Aspects de la fécondité », Bern 1975.

Table I-IV-4

Difference in fertility in the U.S. by social milieu, ethnicity and education

Profession	Cross-sectional index		Number od children born to women still married between 40 and 45 years	
	1950	1960	1950	1960
Professionals	3.280	4.055	1.812	2.311
Managers	3.060	3.813	1.942	2.336
Clericals	2.992	3.770	1.853	2.230
Craftsmen	3.142	3.821	2.399	2.548
Operators	3.278	3.847	2.612	2.690
Service workers	3.068	3.779	2.164	2.426
Laborers	3.591	4.066	3.162	2.968
Farmers	3.982	4.239	3.344	3.166
Farm laborers	4.289	4.631	3.980	4.017

Average number of children (cross-sectional index) by region and by educational attainment

	North-east	North-centre	South	West
Grade school 0-4	2.678	2.805	4.075	4.307
5-7	3.182	3.876	3.925	4.077
8	3.315	3.952	3.675	4.051
High school 1-3	3.505	3.921	3.435	3.775
4	3.437	3.867	3.241	3.642
College 1-3	2.954	3.475	2.907	3.190
4	2.863	3.103	2.882	3.015
Total	3.282	3.744	3.363	3.600

mineworkers in the North of France, office workers in suburbia, the tenants of State-assisted housing and military personnel, all of whom have their own form of family relations and therefore their own type of family. Research soon confirms this. For instance, more than half the human relationships in a French village[1] are family relationships. The average distance between parents and their married children is not more than 20 km, again in France[2].

Other examples concern friendship, marriage, job-seeking. Psychiatry and psycho-analysis will produce some of these revelations. Specific behaviour patterns can be traced more distantly to the endogamy of social groups, to the economic and cultural heritage — everywhere the family intervenes silently to ensure the continuation of society. The picture varies according to the country: strong family influence in Japan, Southern Europe and France, weaker perhaps in the United States, Australia or Canada. In these new countries, the family is less deeply rooted, mobility is greater and the myth of social advancement is therefore more credible and favours the existence of a large middle class bent on achieving it. Going beyond even regions and social conditions, racial differences cause differences in fertility. Sometimes a whole buried past surfaces through differences in reproduction: North American Indians, New Zealand Maoris, Eskimos, Bretons, Irish and Lapps.

Thus, when a large country's population appears to be developing quietly, its composition is constantly changing. Such changes are perhaps an important factor of equilibrium in that they permit a process of social elevation, since in all countries the poorest people, peasants and labourers, also have the highest fertility and the middle classes the lowest, inducing the phenomenon of social capillarity. A few figures will give a better idea of these differences that make their appearance everywhere. Table I-IV-1 shows birth rates in the various Yugoslav republics at different times. The differences are greater than

Average number of children by mothers' ethnicity

Whites	Natives	3.515	For the Whites :	
	Foreign born	3.176	U.K.	3.275
			Sweden	2.156
Non Whites	Blacks	4.264	Ireland	3.121
	American Indians	5.540	Poland	2.613
	Japanese	3.229	Italy	2.945
	Chinese	3.514	Canada	3.624
	Others	4.638	Mexico	4.881

Source : « Differential Current Fertility in the United States » Cho L., W. H. Grabill, D. J. Bogue, University of Chicago 1970.

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[1] O. Courgeau : « Le réseau des relations entre personnes : étude d'un milieu rural », *Population*, 27, 641-683, 1975.

[2] L. Roussel : *La famille après le mariage des enfants*, Paris, PUF, 1976.

those observed among all the OECD nations and are not diminishing at all. Table I-IV-2 gives the total fertility index for the French « départements » in 1968. There the extreme values are getting on for a one-to-two relationship. The occupational structure has nothing to do with it ; instead there seems to be a mysterious theory of climate whereby Southern France is infertile and Northern France more fertile, and, conversely, Southern Italy is swarming with children which are lacking in the North. Table I-IV-3 briefly summarises a more up-to-date version of these differences : the fertility of Swiss nationals compared with the fertility of immigrants into Switzerland in recent years. Similar tables could be prepared for Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Belgium, from which we would see that foreign births are sometimes more than 10 per cent of total births. However, the differences of level are not very pronounced, it is more a matter of differences of structure. This is not the case in the United States (Table I-IV-4), where the Mexicans and American Indians continue to have very high fertility by comparison with the smaller families of whites. The same table reveals often differences : the differences by occupation are appreciable at a given moment, but those in terms of number of children already born are even more so. Finally there is the considerable influence of education.

Viewed in relation to these differences, the detailed calculations presented in the last chapter seem less significant. How can we speak of a « typical family » with its two children when, in France, this type is no doubt the average derived from a working class family in the North with three or four children, an office worker's family with an only child and a childless craftsman and wife in Southern France ?

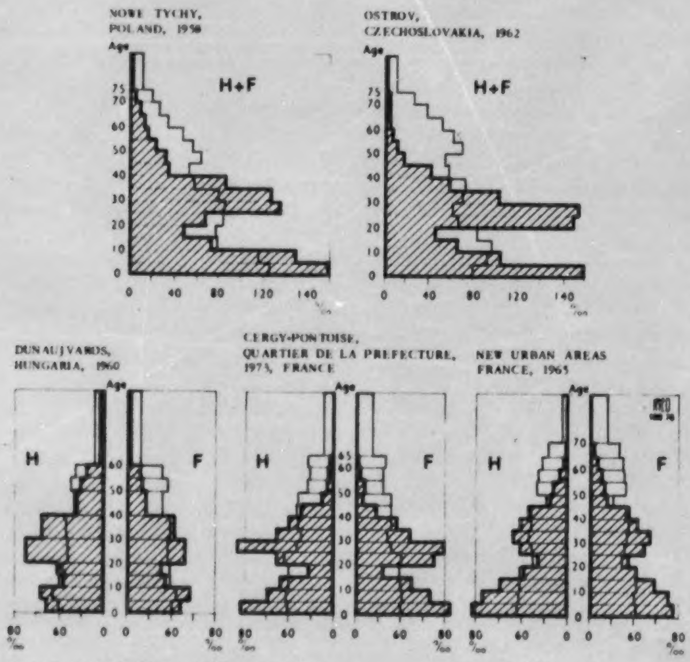
At the child's level, another factor of diversification appears in the local heterogeneity of the age breakdown : the young child in an emptying rural area and the child who lives in the new peripheral suburb of a large city experience a very different demographic environment. The former is surrounded by older people and almost all of his brothers and sisters were born before him. The latter, on the contrary, lives with a very young population whose age pyramid resembles that of internal migrants, since this new housing can only have been occupied by recent arrivals.

Figure I-IV-5 shows a few age structures in new towns in several countries. The predominance of young adults is such that the majority of births are first or second order, and there are no old people.

Thus, on one side, we have younger children surrounded by old people and, on the other, older children with just their parents. Blending these situations into a national or even regional mean creates an abstraction, a type of structure in which

Figure I.IV.5

AGE PYRAMIDS (STREAKED) FROM NEW TOWNS, COMPARED TO AGE PYRAMIDS (WHITE BARS) FOR THE ENTIRE COUNTRY



Source : «Cycle de l'habitat et âge des habitants».
H. LeBras et J.C. Chesnais. Population 1976, 2 : 269-299.

no one actually lives. These defects of statistics, which as we have seen are due to its use for State purposes, are not the only ones that prevent us from having a reliable representation of the family : the very concept of demographic family is so special that it cannot be assimilated with the concepts usually experienced in real life.

2. FATHER, MOTHER, BROKEN MARRIAGES AND CHILDREN'S DEATHS

Married life punctuated by marriage and divorce, procreative life marked by births, and life itself ending in death are three separate chapters of demography, whereas these events are all experienced in families. The description of the family under the heading of fertility tends then to eliminate any special situation when the results are specific. For example, when the father is removed from the family, we have the general fertility rates by age of wife (there are also fertility rates by age of father, but no rates take the father and mother into account simultaneously) ; or when the rates of legitimate fertility are calculated, all illegitimate children and unmarried mothers having been eliminated. Finally, when marriage cohorts are examined, children born from a first marriage are left out. All that remains is the ideal family : father, mother and children, all united, all surviving. When birth order is considered, the children's possible death is disregarded ; the only thing that counts is their birth.

Thus, step by step, the statistical process whittles away the number of children studied. From the statistics of fertility by order of birth, duration of marriage and age of mother it can be estimated that, according to country, a by no means negligible proportion of the children are left out of account or are not properly classified because they are illegitimate, because they were born before the marriage, because one of their elders has died or because they were legitimated. But, from the point of view of educators and the child welfare authorities, it is precisely children who do not live in the typical family who may require the most attention. Furthermore, in the case of certain children correctly represented in the statistics on duration of marriage, the parents may have died or divorced.

It is possible to draw up an approximate balance sheet of such situations when the child has reached his majority, first by identifying illegitimate births and then, among legitimate births, those which will be followed by divorce less than 20 years later or widowhood, and finally, among those children who have stayed with their father and mother, those who have been put in the wrong order because one parent remarried, or because a child born out of wedlock has been legitimated, or because a child has a twin or, lastly, because one of its elders has died.

This balance sheet will break down as follows in the two extreme cases of a country in which the family is changing (for example, Sweden) and a country in which it has remained traditional :

Table I-IV-6

Approximate percentage of children having experienced one of the situations below before reaching the age of 20

	Traditional family	Changing family
Illegitimate births	5	30
Divorces and separations (for legitimate children)	10	20
Death of one parent	12	7
Death of an older brother or sister	3	2
Legitimation	3	8

Although the approximations are rather rough, the orders of magnitude give a good idea of the size of the grey area. These figures correspond to 20 years of life, so that some of them will be smaller for younger children because the frequency of divorce and death of parents is less at that time, but in no case are the amounts negligible.

A third imperfection of demographic description has even more serious implications : it is not possible to reconstruct the composition of families from the various fertility rates. This is a problem to which we referred in the last chapter. It should be examined carefully, for there are still some ways out.

3. BLURRED SIGNIFICANCE OF FERTILITY MEASUREMENTS

If we consult the classical treatises on demography[3], we find every possible definition of all the demographic rates and ratios, but few justifications for their use. The same applies to the Multilingual Demographic Dictionary. There are two opposing tendencies, but they are often inextricably enmeshed and we can only detect them from the use of certain expressions such as « risks », « proportion », « probabilities » or « measurement of a phenomenon ». The first tendency is idealistic : demographic quantities are the estimates of probabilities to which individuals are subject. The second tendency is empiristic : demographic quantities are composed so as to eliminate the influence of a variable and make it possible to compare several countries or several periods correctly.

These two points of departure are different but they finally concur in varying proportions in each index. The more complicated the index, the more categories it assumes and the nearer we appear to be to probabilities. Thus, the simplest index, the birth rate, which is the ratio of the number of births to mid-period population, has a fairly pronounced empirical character: the stray effect of the size of the different populations must be eliminated in order to be able to compare their natality correctly. This is done by using a « model » in which the stray element intervenes explicitly:

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[3] See Bibliography.

$$\text{Births} = \text{natality} \times \text{population}.$$

We extract natality from this. Other functions might also be envisaged for instance, when studying internal migration, we often adjust « gravitational laws ».

The probabilist attitude is more difficult to define in the case of crude birth rate: we cannot speak of a probability for *each individual* of producing a birth during the year but rather of a probability for *the observer*, when he chooses an individual, of finding a person on whom a birth depends. Compared with the proportion of an age-group in the total structure, the birth rate seems somewhat closer to a probability, however: we do not speak of the probability of being so many years old, but we can speak of the probability of a birth occurring.

One notch higher and we come to the death rate and probability of death by age, where the empiricist attitude is more difficult to support. We have to admit that the aim is to compare mortality at each age according to country or period, but why eliminate the influence of age structure rather than that of occupation, region, education or habitat? Furthermore, death rates rectified by a standard structure evolve like crude rates. Thus, as an empiricist, D. Bogue calculated the Pearson coefficient of correlation between the crude birth rate and the average number of children. He obtained a value of 0.98, which denotes almost perfect covariation: an assimilation which is heresy to the probabilist is thus perfectly legitimale for the empiricist.

In addition, we compare the age-specific rates, we arrange them one after another, and it becomes almost necessary to read the progress of a person as a probability, or a « fictitious cohort », as it is sometimes called. The transposition of longitudinal techniques to cross-sectional problems introduces the notion of probability more distinctly; and, with marriage rates, several authors consider it a necessity: R. Pressat, for example, speaks of « risks » and D. Bogue of « best possible estimate of probabilities ». Mortality in fact blends with nuptiality, and the declared aim of demographic analysis is to separate them. Probabilities have to be resorted to explicitly (finite probabilities when we choose ratios, estimate of instantaneous density in mid-period when we prefer rates) since we have to use « behaviour » assumptions (what would have happened *in the absence* of mortality), assumptions in which individual conduct is assimilated to random variables. It is of course possible, by a flat reading of the formulae used to separate nuptiality from mortality, to defend empiricism to the bitter end, but none of the authors mentioned has ventured to do so.

With still more specialised rates — death rate by age and causes of death, marriage rate by age and former marital status — it becomes essential to resort to probabilities, and sometimes even this is no longer sufficient to sort out the problem: such is the case for the statistics of comparative ages of man and wife on marriage.

We can see more clearly now why the empiricist and probabilist attitudes were difficult to separate; as abstraction increases, the choice of variables and indices becomes more arbitrary and it has to be justified by introducing individual conduct: those « behaviours » so often mentioned. This is one of the most typical signs of the autonomy of statistics vis-à-vis the State, and, indeed, the real world. In point of fact, age is not a cause, nor a variable determining conduct but, because of its precision and the fact that it is completely structured, an autonomous state is gradually produced which no international or time comparison justifies any longer but which promises wonders: namely, the revelation of individual conduct and therefore an explanation of the overall trend of the traditional parameters, nuptiality, fertility and mortality. Determinism can be debated indefinitely in the case of mortality and nuptiality.

For certain authors, there are scales of kinds of discontinuity between sets of causes whereby it is possible gradually to isolate the most important, followed by the minor ones and then the very minor causes, at each stage assigning random status to those that are overlooked. In physics or the social sciences, this traditional approach takes on, for the factor analysts, the reassuring appearance of a research programme, but it merely begs the question. Be that as it may, it is pointless to nurture this kind of hope when studying fertility, because the mechanism breaks down before it even begins to function: fertility rates cannot be regarded as probabilities once they concern a period of time longer than nine months; what is worse, births depend on one another, whatever the fertility regime and whatever the spread of contraception. One and the same individual's probabilities of conceiving are therefore not independent from one time to the next. This brings us to an important point, and we must define the problem very clearly. To do so, we shall build a small example of a fertility « model » in which we shall show the contradiction between the behaviours described by the demographer and the measurements he proposes on a macroscopic scale.

Let us assume that of 100 « fertilizable » women (to use a demographer's expression) 20 will conceive each quarter. Taking a group of women who have just married, we will then find that 20 per cent will conceive in the first quarter and become pregnant, which thereafter prevents them from conceiving. Of the 80 per cent who remain « fertilizable », a further 20 per cent, i.e. 16 per cent of the initial number, will conceive, and so on until the fourth quarter; at that point, the women who conceived in the first quarter are confined and become fertilizable again in the next quarter. With this scheme, we observe the following births per thousand women in each quarter:

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Quarter :

1st	0	7th	102
2nd	0	8th	122
3rd	0	9th	130
4th	200	10th	129
5th	160	11th	124
6th	128	12th	124

If we had calculated the annual fertility rates for these three years, we would have obtained :

1st year	0.200
2nd year	0.512
3rd year	0.507

Whereas, in reality, we have annual rates or five-year groups. It is apparent that these are not the estimate of an individual probability[4]. However, with this simple model one could estimate the quarterly rate on the basis of several annual rates. But, in actual fact, such a process is complicated by two factors, or obstacles :

— a pause follows confinement which varies from one woman to another and according to the duration of breast-feeding and sexual taboos ;

— in all societies, certain types of limitation on births operate ; in modern societies, they take the form of more effective and more widespread contraception when the size of the family increases.

The first of these obstacles is not too serious and the models allow for a probability distribution of the pause ; the second, however, has not yet been overcome. Thus, demographers, instead of studying contraception in malthusian populations, set about building models of « natural fertility », a sort of biological status of women, an extreme that is never observed. At that point, they were caught in the conventional spiral of theoretical models that aspire to describe a theoretical reality, and new parameters, which are just as little known, were introduced to make the thing seem more real : frequency of sexual intercourse, lifespan of ova and spermatozoa, miscarriages, variable fertilizability, temporary or permanent sterility, anovulant cycles, and so on.

This proliferation is not just the result of self-contemplation. There are more concrete purposes behind its reflections. It has brought the backing of science to certain operations and it has assisted assessments of family planning programmes in the Third World. We can therefore understand more readily why this trend has developed so far.

Nonetheless, it is possible to get out of the present impasse and return to the study of the family by abandoning these indeterminable parameters and retaining only *the distributions of intervals between successive births* ; in point of fact, even an approximate knowledge of these functions permits the series computation of families, starting from an initial event. By families we mean « extended » or « stem » families, that is not only parents and all their children with details of their ages, but grandparents, grandchildren and the families of married children. This method of computation should link up with the fairly traditional field of random processes. In the absence of such distributions of intervals, however, and because fertility models cannot describe the formation of the family, we have to discard the traditional demographic data we studied in the last chapter and find others instead. Luckily, such data do exist and are even more abundant and varied than might have been expected.

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[4] We have produced a theoretical example here. Similar data, but of a factual kind, are to be found in C. GINI'S « Premières recherches sur la fécondabilité de la femme ». Proceedings of the International Mathematics Congress, Toronto, 1924 (which is the first study of this nature).

Chapter V

NORMALITY AND PATHOLOGY OF FAMILY EVENTS

The previous chapter showed beyond doubt the uselessness of a refined description of fertility as a means of approaching the problems of early childhood. Clearly, what the demographers call « family » excludes the family links. However, they do study the events that create or dissolve the family : marriage and divorce. We shall show here how marriage and divorce rates have moved since 1945 in the OECD countries. This is not a comprehensive study, but a brief overview to introduce the more important description provided by the chapters in Part II. Marriage and divorce deeply mark the cycle of family life and their imprint will appear in the composition of families and households, often in an unexpected manner. Thus, increased postponement of marriage may cause a fall in the number of persons living alone inasmuch as unmarried children go on living longer in their parents' home.

Marriage and divorce are official and legal events, but alongside them other, non-legal events occur which are their counterparts : formation of unmarried couples (formally termed « illicit unions »), and unofficial dissolution of legally married couples by separation without divorce or by simple desertion.

These unofficial events receive less attention from demographers and sociologists because they are less easy to measure. Yet they are measurable to some degree : desertions, cases of « the absent spouse », are known in censuses thanks to the spouse who is present, and at certain ages this situation is more frequent than divorces and widowhood in several developed countries (United States and Federal Republic of Germany, for example), but there are few studies and little data to draw on. This is less true of another unofficial event, the illegitimate or « out-of-wedlock » birth as it is called, when it becomes frequent. These births have been a subject of study for a very long time and there is now a revival of interest in them. They will be dealt with specifically in the second part of this chapter in order to introduce two ideas. The first is the constant importance of the long-term view : long series make it possible to see the structure of the phenomena, short series (even those that go back to 1945 represent only one generation) provide short-sighted explanations. The second idea will emerge as the actual mechanism of illegitimacy is revealed : what used to be an event, the birth out-of-wedlock, will become a sequence of events leading from one to another. This whole system will thus give a first indication of the broader and more complex system which encompasses the life cycle in its entirety.

1. NUPTIALITY

The most simple datum is the annual number of marriages, as shown for each country in Table I-V-1. Marriages were very numerous in the immediate post-war period, declined in the 1950s and picked up after 1960, only to fall again very rapidly in many countries during recent years.

This brief description conceals considerable differences : the number of marriages has continued to rise in Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Turkey and Yugoslavia, whereas in Sweden it began to fall very early on (1965). Immediately after the war, most marriages represented unions that had been postponed because of the hostilities ; but their effect was contagious, and large numbers of people continued to get married until 1950. Afterwards, even though a lot of young people married, the number of marriages declined because those young people were of the depleted generations born shortly before the war, then during the war. As from 1963, the post-war bulge generations entered « the marriage market », and again the number of marriages rose. This period of high nuptiality is now ending and the ebb is perceptible in a large number of countries. Like natality and mortality, nuptiality is usually measured by several indices that are supposed to approximate behaviour and eliminate a number of causes of variability (total population size or age structure). Here we shall consider just two indices having a concrete significance : the proportion of single persons at age 50 in either sex, and average age at the time of the first marriage.

Table I-V-2 shows the proportion of single persons among men and women aged 45 to 49 in 1959, 1960 and 1970. Since marriages are infrequent above the age of 50, these proportions are a fair approximation of never-married status in these three generations. Interpretation of these data is very difficult and each country shows a specific trend. However,

Table I-V-1

Number of marriages by year and by country

Year	Germany	Australia	Austria	Belgium	Canada	Denmark	Spain	United States	Finland	France	Greece	Ireland	Iceland	Italy	Japan	Luxemburg	New Zealand	Norway	Netherlands	Portugal	United Kingdom	Sweden	Switzerland	Turkey	Yugoslavia
1945			31						32				1.0												
1946			63						44				1.0												
1947			75						50				1.1												205
1948		75	72	79	126	39	214	1 811	44	371			1.2	385	953		17	29	87	64			39		204
1949	506	73	69	73	124	37	197	1 589	39	341	42		1.1	359	842		16	27	82	65			36	51	184
1950	536	76	65	72	125	38	209	1 667	35	331	58		1.2	356	715	2.6	16	27	83	65		54	37	50	186
1951	523	77	63	70	128	36	210	1 595	34	319	63		1.1	328	671		16	27	90	66		54	37	53	170
1952	483	74	58	67	128	35	219	1 539	32	313	49	16	1.2	334	676		17	27	87	67		53	37	56	176
1953	462	71	54	67	131	35	217	1 546	33	308	60	16	1.2	340	682		17	27	85	67	395	53	37	59	168
1954	453	71	54	67	128	34		1 490	32	314	63	16	1.4	359	697		17	26	88	69	392	53	38	62	172
1955	462	72	57	68	128	35		1 531	33	312	66	16	1.3	366	714	2.5	17	26	89	73	410	52	39	64	163
1956	479	72	57	68	132	34		1 585	33	293	55	17	1.3	363	715	2.5	17	25	92	65	406	51	40	61	156
1957	483	74	57	68	133	34	250	1 518	31	310	68	15	1.3	365	773	2.3	17	24	93	71	398	52	41	60	155
1958	494	74	55	67	131	33	251	1 451	31	312	69	15	1.3	373	826	2.4	18	23	91	73	390	50	39	65	170
1959	504	74	56	65	132	34	242	1 494	32	320	74	15	1.3	381	847	2.3	18	23	88	75	390	50	40	65	164
1960	521	75	59	65	130	35	235	1 523	33	319	58		1.3	387	866	2.2	18	23	89	69	393	50	41	67	168
1961	530	77	60	62	128	36	237	1 548	34	314	70		1.3	397	890	2.2	19	24	92	78	397	52	42	67	169
1962	531	79	60	62	129	37	235	1 577	34	316	70		1.4	406	928	2.2	19	24	93	70	397	53	44	70	163
1963	508	81	58	62	131	38	236	1 654	33	340	78	16	1.5	420	937	2.1	19	24	95	71	401	53	43	72	158
1964	506	86	58	65	138	39	232	1 725	35	347	76	16	1.6	417	963	2.2	20	25	102	73	410	58	44	77	167
1965	492	94	57	66	145	41	227	1 800	36	346	80	17	1.6	399	954	2.2	21	24	108	75	422	59	45	78	174
1966	485	96	56	68	155	41	229	1 857	38	339	71	17	1.6	384	940	2.2	22	27	112	77	437	61	44	79	169
1967	483	100	56	68	165	41	232	1 927	41	345	81	18	1.7	380	953	2.2	23	29	115	79	439	56	45	83	169
1968	444	106	56	69	171	39	231	2 069	40	357	65	19	1.7	374	956	2.2	24	29	118	77	462	52	45	104	170
1969	447	112	55	72	182	39	238	2 145	41	380	72	20	1.7	384	984	2.2	24	29	117		451	48	46	111	175
1970	445	116	53	73	188	36	247	2 163	41	393	67	21	1.6	395	1 029	2.2	25	29	124	81	470	43	46	117	183
1971	432	118	48	73	191	32	253	2 190	38	406	73	22	1.6	404	1 091	2.2	27	29	122	83	459	39	44	133	184
1972	415	114	57	74	200	31	262	2 269	35	416	60	22	1.7	418	1 099	2.3	26	28	114	77	480	38	43	137	186
1973	395	113	50	73	199	30	268	2 277	35	400	73	23	1.8	418	1 071	2.1	26	28	111	84	453	38	40		184
1974	377	111	49	73	205	33	267	2 223	35	394	68	22	1.9	404	1 000	2.2	25	27	109	82	437	44	38		181
1975	386		47	73	190		268	2 126	34	385	73			374		2.4		26	100	101	431	44	35		181
1976	366									374															

Table I-V-2

Percentage of single persons in 1950-60-70 aged 45 to 49 by country

	Men			Women		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
Fed. Germany	6.8	4.9	4.4	12.7	9.4	9.8
Australia			8.3			5.3
Austria	10.0	8.0	6.7	14.3	12.1	11.4
Belgium	9.1	9.0	8.3	10.3	9.2	7.7
Canada		10.5	8.7		10.4	7.7
Denmark	9.7	9.7	9.4	13.9	9.4	6.7
Spain	9.6	7.1	8.8	15.2	14.6	12.1
United-States		7.6	6.2		7.6	5.7
Finland	11.9	10.0	12.2	18.7	14.2	12.1
France	10.7	10.0	9.9	10.2	8.6	8.2
Greece	7.3	6.9	6.2	5.1	6.2	7.1
Ireland	32.0	30.5	29.9	26.3	22.1	20.4
Iceland						
Italy	9.3	9.3	11.1	15.0	13.7	13.8
Japan		1.1	1.6		1.7	2.7
Luxembourg						
Nex Zealand			8.1			5.9
Norway	15.5	13.4	12.9	20.5	13.0	8.4
Netherlands	9.1	7.7	7.0	13.5	11.0	8.2
Portugal	12.2	11.5	8.2	17.2	15.9	12.5
England and Wales	9.8	9.5	9.8	15.2	10.5	7.8
Sweden	16.2	14.5	14.0	18.5	11.0	7.8
Switzeland	13.4	11.9	9.2	19.2	15.3	12.0
Turkey		2.1	1.8		1.9	1.2
Yugoslavia	4.7	4.9	3.7	5.8	6.1	6.3

in most countries unmarried status is on the decline. In the case of men, the most striking examples are Finland, the United Kingdom, and Italy ; and for women, Greece. It can be seen, however, that where the proportion of single males is rising, that of single females is falling very rapidly. Indeed, it takes two to get married. So the imbalance in the numbers of « marriageable » persons of either sex may result in fairly marked and cumulative variations in nuptiality. Thus, in the 1960s the arrival of the large post-war female generations caused an increase in marriages among men a little older, and a fall in marriages among older women whose place was being taken by these younger generations. This was the famous « marriage squeeze » described by American authors.

Another notable feature of Table I-V-2 is the extreme diversity of single status levels : single status is virtually non-existent in Turkey and Japan, the level is low in a number of Mediterannean countries (Yugoslavia, Greece) and in non-European countries, higher in Western Europe, higher still in Northern Europe and highest of all in Ireland, where it can be partly explained by large-scale emigration and partly by a very specific family structure.

In these data we can see the culmination of a long movement of rising nuptiality in the western countries, after the period of demographic transition in which the proportion of never-married persons was very considerable. In more recent years the trends seem to have been changing. It is not possible to know them exactly, since the generations concerned are aged under 50, but we see a decline in nuptiality in the young age groups and at the same time a rise in the age at marriage, which likewise comes after a very long period of decline (but the age gap between spouses remains roughly constant).

Finally, the decrease in nuptiality has taken new forms in a number of western countries (Denmark and Sweden, in particular), where there has been a increase in cohabitation without marriage among young people to the point where, at certain ages, married couples are outnumbered by unmarried couples. It is still too early to tell whether this represents a radical change in the family or simply an adjustment of its cycle. The latter interpretation seems the more plausible, since marriages are now taking place after a long period of co-habitation. Moreover, the family as an institution has survived for thousands of years without mishap and it is difficult to imagine it tottering all of a sudden. At the other end of the scale, however, it is threatened from time to time by divorce.

2. DIVORCE

Table I-V-3 shows the number of divorces in each country since 1945. It should be pointed out that in three countries (Spain, Ireland and Italy), it has not been recognised legally until very recently. For the other countries the trends on the whole run parallel : the number of divorces rose just after the war, probably to regularise a certain number of situations brought about by the hostilities, then remained roughly stable for more than ten years. As of 1965 the number of divorces began to rise in nearly all countries (the exceptions being Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey). In 1970 this movement accelerated to the point where in many cases the number of divorces doubled, and in three countries (Iceland, United Kingdom and Sweden) it even quadrupled between 1950 and 1975.

As with the decline in nuptiality, care must be taken to avoid over-hasty interpretations on the subject of the family's dissolution. The divorce figures in fact represent the state of the legislation more than they do *mores.* Besides divorced couples, there are many cases of judicial separation and even more cases of *de facto* separation. Relaxation of the divorce laws often simply serves to officialize long-standing separations which would otherwise not have appeared in the statistics. The interaction between the legal system and real situations is not very clear, however : some countries with easy legislation, like Norway, have very low divorce rates, whilst a country like Austria, where the laws are stricter, has a high incidence of divorce. Different types of family organisation certainly cause some unions to be more stable than others. It is a recognised ethnological fact that the stability of

Table I-V-3
Divorces by year and by country
(thousands)

Year	Germany	Australia	Austria	Belgium	Canada	Denmark	Spain	United States	Finland	France	Greece	Iceland	Ireland	Italy	Japan	Luxemburg	New Zealand	Norway	Netherlands	Portugal	United Kingdom	Sweden	Switzerland	Turkey	Yugoslavia
1945			4.6														1.7								
1946			13.4													0.10	2.1								
1947			13.5													0.15	2.1								20.9
1948		7.2	14.2	6.5	6.9	7.1		408		45.9					79.0	0.15	1.8		8.0	1.10			4.2		24.6
1949	92	6.6	12.8	5.9	6.0	6.9		397	3.7	40.3		0.08			82.5	0.16	1.8	2.4	7.0	1.03	34.2	7.6	4.1	7.4	16.9
1950	85	7.4	10.5	5.1	5.3	6.8		385	3.7	34.6		0.10			83.6	0.16	1.6	2.3	6.4	0.96	30.3	8.0	4.2	7.9	17.9
1951	64	7.3	10.3	4.3	5.2	6.6		381	3.6	33.3		0.10			82.3	0.12	1.5	2.2	6.0	1.22	28.3	8.4	4.2	8.8	15.5
1952	58	7.1	9.8	4.2	5.6	6.7		392	3.5	33.0		0.11			79.0	0.11	1.6	2.1	5.8	0.90	33.2	8.2	4.1	9.5	12.4
1953	54	8.0	9.4	4.1	6.1	6.5		390	3.4	30.9		0.12			75.2	0.10	1.5	2.1	5.4	1.07	29.7	8.4	4.4	9.9	16.0
1954	51	6.5	9.2	3.9	5.9	6.6		379	3.5	30.1		0.11			76.7	0.11	1.5	2.1	5.5	1.07	27.4	8.5	4.4	10.2	16.0
1955	48	6.7	9.0	4.4	6.0	6.7		377	3.6	31.3		0.10			75.2	0.11	1.4	2.0	5.4	0.94	26.2	8.7	4.4	10.4	19.4
1956	46	6.4	8.5	4.3	6.0	6.4		382	3.7	31.3		0.10			72.0	0.13	1.4	2.1	5.5	0.95	25.7	8.6	4.2	11.2	19.3
1957	46	6.3	8.2	4.5	6.6	6.4		381	3.5	30.7		0.12			71.6	0.09	1.4	2.0	5.3	0.81	23.3	8.8	4.5	10.6	20.4
1958	48	6.9	8.2	4.2	6.2	6.5		368	3.7	31.3	2.6	0.14			74.0	0.11	1.7	2.1	5.2	0.79	22.1	8.6	4.4	11.3	21.9
1959	49	7.3	8.5	4.4	6.5	6.4		395	3.8	29.9	2.3	0.15			72.4	0.12	1.6	2.2	5.5	0.74	23.8	8.7	4.6	11.1	21.5
1960	49	6.7	8.0	4.5	6.9	6.6		393	3.6	30.2	2.5	0.13			69.4	0.15	1.6	2.4	5.6	0.75	23.3	8.9	4.6	11.1	22.1
1961	49	6.7	8.0	4.6	6.5	6.6		414	3.9	32.7	2.8	0.16			69.3	0.13	1.7	2.5	5.7	0.76	24.9	8.6	4.7	10.4	21.5
1962	50	7.2	8.0	4.6	6.7	6.4		413	4.0	30.6	3.1	0.13			71.3	0.13	1.7	2.4	5.7	0.74	28.9	8.8	4.7	10.9	21.2
1963	51	7.5	8.2	5.1	6.7	6.4		428	4.2	30.3	3.1	0.20			69.9	0.12	1.9	2.4	5.8	0.66	32.0	8.4	4.7	11.3	21.3
1964	56	7.9	8.4	5.4	8.6	6.4		450	4.5	33.3	3.3	0.17			72.3	0.14	1.8	2.6	6.2	0.68	34.8	9.1	4.8	11.4	21.4
1965	59	8.5	8.4	5.5	8.9	6.5		479	4.6	34.9	3.5	0.16			77.1	0.15	1.8	2.6	6.2	0.70	37.7	9.5	4.9	12.2	21.6
1966	59	9.9	8.6	5.8	10.2	6.7		499	4.9	36.5	3.4	0.19			79.4	0.19	2.0	2.7	6.8	0.70	39.0	10.2	4.9	11.1	23.0
1967	63	9.7	8.9	6.0	11.1	6.9		523	5.2	37.2	3.3	0.18			83.4	0.20	2.0	2.8	7.5	0.72	43.0	10.7	5.1	11.2	20.8
1968	65	10.7	9.7	6.0	11.3	7.5		584	5.4	36.1	3.2	0.21			87.3	0.21	2.1	3.1	8.1	0.50	45.7	11.0	5.5	11.3	21.0
1969	72	10.9	10.0	6.4	26.0	8.9		639	5.9	35.5	3.2	0.26			91.2	0.19	2.9	3.1	9.1	0.51	51.3	12.2	5.9	10.8	20.2
1970	77	12.2	10.4	6.4	29.7	9.5		708	6.0	40.0	3.5	0.25			95.9	0.22	3.1	3.4	10.3	0.54	58.2	13.1	6.4	9.6	20.4
1971	80	13.0	10.0	7.0	29.6	13.4		773	7.2	47.7	3.7	0.31			103.5	0.24	3.3	3.7	11.6	0.62	74.4	13.6	7.0	11.0	21.3
1972	87	15.6	9.9	7.8	32.3	13.1		839	8.3	48.4	3.4	0.32			108.3	0.28	3.4	4.0	14.9	0.60	119.0	15.1	7.6	10.1	22.0
1973	90	16.1	10.0	8.3	36.7	12.6		913	8.8	50.0	4.1	0.33			111.9	0.27	3.6	4.7	17.9	0.78		16.2	8.0	10.7	23.2
1974	99		10.6	10.1		13.1		970	10.0	50.0	3.8	0.36			113.6	0.27	4.5	5.2	19.2			27.2	8.1		25.1
1975			10.7									0.40											8.9		
—																									

unions will differ greatly according to whether the family organisation is patrilineal or matrilineal, and also to what extent the children belong to a larger family group than that of the parental couple.

Associated with the recent increase in divorces is a change in their pattern. Until 1960 divorces occurred essentially among couples who had been married a good while (the average duration of the marriage before the suit for divorce was between 7 and 10 years in the western countries). But for some years now, another type of behaviour seems to have been emerging, namely divorce very shortly after marriage, representing direct recognition of a bad marriage rather than the progressive estrangement of a couple. Thus, the coexistence of the two types of divorce may, for a few years, cause a steep rise in the number of divorces, but over the longer term the older-established type is certain to recede, and the younger type may also decline inasmuch as the decision to marry is more carefully thought out and preceded by a period of living together. These two movements seen to indicate a strengthening of the institution of marriage, whereby its laws become coincident with the feelings of the spouses, rather than a weakening of it. Thus, marriage appears to be losing some of its traditional elements. It is still very difficult to assess these phenomena, however, since there is no social motive force to attribute to them. It is virtually impossible to know what backgrounds the people who get divorced come from or what their family history is. But it is possible for a society in which many people get divorced to coexist with a much more stable society, as P. Laslett has hypothesized in another area, illegitimacy, with regard to 16th century England : namely that alongside legitimate families reproducing themselves by way of marriage followed by births, there existed the simulacrum which reproduced itself without marriage. Two different types of lineage, as it were. We shall very shortly be turning to the subject of illegitimacy and we shall begin to see how the different family events identified and studied separately, can in fact be linked together and found to condition one another.

We shall demonstrate this linkage in the course of examining out-of-wedlock births ; but before this it is timely to present a final tabulation of an entirely conventional kind : Table I-V-4 shows the marriage rates and divorce rates (among married women) for the OECD countries in 1950, 1960 and 1970.

The divorce rates are of some interest in that they show the extent of the gap between fairly similar countries (the American rate is six times higher than the Canadian, Danish women divorce twice as much as Norwegian women, and so on), but they throw no more light on the trend in a country than do the crude divorce figures. The same applies to the marriage rates : these have been included only for purposes of criticism, for it can be seen that they neither provide any basis for comparisons nor offer any indication as to trends. This ties in with the criticisms already presented in Chapters II and IV.

Table I-V-4

Marriage and divorce rates by country in 1950, 1960 and 1970

	Marriage rates			Divorce rates (married women)		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
Fed Germany	10.6	9.4	7.2	6.5	3.4	5.0
Australia	9.2	7.3	9.3	3.7	2.8	5.5
Austria	9.3	8.3	7.1	6.7	5.0	5.9
Belgium	8.3	7.1	7.6	3.0	2.0	2.6
Canada	9.1	7.3	8.8	1.7	1.7	
Denmark	9.1	7.8	8.0	6.8	6.0	7.5
Spain	7.5	7.8	7.4	/	/	
United-States	11.0	8.5	10.7	10.4	9.4	14.9
Finland	8.5	7.4	8.6	4.6	4.1	6.0
France	7.9	7.0	7.7	3.0	2.8	3.1
Greece	7.6	7.0	7.7	/	1.5	0.8
Ireland	5.4	5.5	7.0	/	/	—
Iceland	8.5	7.5	7.8	3.8	5.0	—
Italy	7.7	7.8	7.4	/	/	
Japan	8.6	9.9	10.0	5.3	3.7	—
Luxembourg	8.7	7.1	6.4	1.9	1.7	2.6
New Zealand	9.0	8.0	9.2	3.7	3.2	4.9
Norway	8.3	6.6	7.6	3.2	2.8	3.7
Netherlands	8.2	7.8	9.5	4.4	2.2	3.3
Portugal	7.8	7.9	9.1	0.7	0.4	0.2
England	8.1	7.5	8.5	2.8	2.2	5.5
Sweden	7.7	6.7	5.4	4.9	4.9	6.7
Switzerland	7.9	7.8	7.4	4.2	3.9	4.5
Turkey	/	/	/	1.8	1.8	
Yugoslavia	11.5	9.1	9.1	4.0	5.1	4.1

Out-of-wedlock births

Three centuries ago illegitimate births were quite rare, if not very rare ; but from the 19th century they began to account for a sizeable proportion of total births in some countries, and by now that proportion is over 10 per cent in a good number of them. From the child's viewpoint, these births pose several problems. Do they indicate a pronounced social heterogeneity which they help to perpetuate or even accentuate ? Do they indicate a loosening of family ties ? Or do they simply represent a stage in the family life cycle whereby single persons gradually come round to family life ?

It is not possible to answer these questions off the cuff or even to attribute illegitimate births to voluntary decisions or the inescapable consequence of economic and social factors. Instead we shall show that they are the result, or the residue, of the conflicting actions of biological, cultural, social and legal forces, and that it would be wrong to make any value judgment concerning them. But a good many such judgments are made and have been made in the past. Eighty years ago Emile Durkheim considered that illegitimacy was an index of social disorganisation. There, he was following in the footsteps of many authors who had tried throughout the 19th

Table I-V-5

Illegitimate births as a percentage of total births

Year	Germany	Australia	Austria	Belgium	Canada	Denmark	Spain	United States	Finland	France	Greece	Ireland	Iceland	Italy	Japan	Luxemburg	New Zealand	Norway	Netherlands	Portugal	United Kingdom	Sweden	Switzerland	Yugoslavia
1945																								
1946	16.4			3.8		7.9	6.2		6.0	8.7		3.9	25.9	3.8				5.8	2.5	12.3	6.6	9.3	3.4	
1947	11.9			3.1		8.0	5.5		5.6	7.6		3.4	25.6	3.7				4.9	1.9	12.1	5.3	9.4	3.5	
1948	10.2			3.1		7.7	5.7		5.5	7.2		3.3	26.6	3.5				4.0	1.7	11.8	5.4	9.3	3.7	
1949	9.3	4.1	18.9	2.7	3.9	7.4	5.7	3.7	5.2	7.0		3.1	25.2	3.4	2.7	3.8	3.8	4.3	1.6	11.8	5.1	9.4	3.6	
1950	9.7	3.8	18.3	2.6	3.9	7.4	5.2	4.0	4.9	7.0	3.1	2.5	27.9	3.4	2.5	3.4	4.0	4.1	1.5	11.8	5.1	9.8	3.8	6.6
1951	9.6	3.9	17.6	2.3	3.8	7.0	5.2	3.9	4.7	6.8		2.5	27.3	3.4	2.2	3.9	4.2	4.0	1.4	11.6	4.8	10.1	3.5	6.2
1952	9.0	3.9	16.5	2.3	3.8	6.8	5.1	3.9	4.5	6.7		2.5	25.8	3.4	2.0	3.7	4.5	3.7	1.4	11.5	4.8	9.9	3.5	6.0
1953	8.7	4.0	15.9	2.2	3.8	6.9	4.8	4.1	4.4	6.7		2.1	25.5	3.3	1.9	3.4	4.3	3.6	1.3	11.2	4.7	9.7	3.6	7.0
1954	8.4	4.0	15.5	2.1	3.9	6.7	4.6	4.4	4.2	6.6		2.1	27.6	3.2	1.7	2.9	4.3	3.5	1.3	10.9	4.7	9.8	3.7	7.4
1955	7.9	4.1	14.4	2.1	3.8	6.6	4.2	4.5	4.2	6.4	1.5	2.0	27.1	3.1	1.7	2.8	4.5	3.4	1.2	11.0	4.7	9.9	3.6	7.7
1956	7.5	4.2	13.5	2.1	3.9	6.8	3.8	4.6	4.3	6.3	1.5	1.9	25.1	3.0	1.6	3.0	4.6	3.5	1.2	10.6	4.8	10.2	3.7	8.2
1957	7.2	4.2	13.3	2.0	4.0	6.9	3.3	4.7	4.0	6.2	1.5	1.7	24.9	2.8	1.5	3.0	4.9	3.5	1.2	10.6	4.8	10.1	3.8	8.8
1958	6.8	4.6	13.2	2.0	4.0	7.2	2.9	5.0	4.1	6.1	1.3	1.6	25.5	2.7	1.4	3.0	5.0	3.6	1.2	10.5	4.9	10.1	3.8	8.8
1959	6.7	4.7	13.3	2.1	4.2	7.3	2.4	5.2	4.0	6.1	1.3	1.6	25.4	2.5	1.3	3.1	5.1	3.6	1.4	10.1	5.1	10.4	3.8	8.7
1960	6.3	4.8	13.0	2.1	4.3	7.8	2.3	5.3	4.1	6.1	1.2	1.6	25.3	2.4	1.2	3.2	5.3	3.7	1.3	10.0	5.4	11.3	3.8	8.7
1961	6.0	5.1	12.6	2.0	4.5	8.0	2.3	5.6	4.0	5.9	1.2	1.6	25.3	2.4	1.2	3.4	5.8	3.7	1.4	9.3	6.0	11.7	4.0	8.4
1962	5.6	5.4	12.0	2.1	4.8	8.3	2.1	5.9	4.2	5.9	1.2	1.8	24.5	2.2	1.1	3.1	8.0	3.8	1.5	9.0	6.6	12.4	4.2	8.2
1963	5.2	5.7	11.6	2.2	5.3	8.9	1.9	6.3	4.4	5.9	1.2	1.8	25.1	2.2	1.1	3.1	8.8	3.9	1.6	8.7	6.9	12.6	4.1	8.5
1964	5.0	6.5	11.3	2.3	5.9	9.3	1.8	6.8	4.6	5.9	1.1	2.0	26.7	2.0	1.0	3.2	9.9	4.2	1.7	8.4	7.2	13.1	4.2	8.4
1965	4.7	7.0	11.2	2.4	6.7	9.5	1.7	5.4	4.8	5.9	1.1	2.2	26.9	2.0	1.1	3.7	10.9	4.6	1.8	8.3	7.7	13.8	3.9	8.3
1966	4.6	7.4	11.4	2.5	7.6	10.2	1.6	8.4	5.1	5.9	1.0	2.3	28.4	2.0	0.9	3.2	11.6	4.9	2.0	8.1	7.9	14.6	3.8	8.3
1967	4.6	7.7	11.5	2.5	8.3	11.1	1.5	9.0	5.3	6.1	1.0	2.5	30.0	2.0	1.0	3.5	12.7	5.1	2.1	7.9	8.4	15.1	3.9	8.3
1968	4.8	8.0	12.0	2.7	9.0	11.1	1.4	9.7	5.6	6.4	1.1	2.6	30.5	2.1	1.0	3.2	13.0	5.6	2.0	7.4	8.5	15.8	3.8	8.7
1969	5.0	7.8	12.2	2.7	9.2	11.3	1.4	10.0	5.8	6.5	1.1	2.6	29.6	2.1	0.9	3.0	13.0	6.2	2.2	7.3	8.4	16.3	3.8	8.5
1970	5.5	8.3	12.8	2.8	9.6	11.0	1.4	10.7	5.5	6.8	1.1	2.7	29.9	2.2	0.9	4.0	13.3	6.9	2.1	7.2	8.3	18.4	3.8	8.5
1971	5.8	9.3	13.0	3.3	9.0	12.3	1.4	11.3	6.7	7.0	1.2		31.1	2.4	0.9	3.9	13.9	7.9	2.0	7.3	8.4	21.6	3.7	8.1
1972	6.0		13.7	3.0	9.0	14.4	1.4	12.4	7.9		1.2		32.3	2.5	0.8	4.2	14.9	8.7	1.9	7.1	8.6	25.1	3.7	8.1
1973	6.3	9.8	13.7		9.0	17.1	1.6	13.0	9.0		1.3		33.9	2.8	0.8		15.2	9.1	1.9	7.2		28.4	3.8	7.7
1974			13.8				1.5	13.2					34.0		0.8				2.0			31.4		
1975			13.5																					

century to establish a « statistics of morals » and who thought that « the increase in the number of natural children is attributable first and foremost to the debasement of moral standards », as A.M. Gaillard wrote in 1837 in his « Recherches sur les enfants naturels et les enfants trouvés » (Research on Natural Children and Foundlings).

Despite all this, illegitimate births constitute one of the parts of the family mechanism : they may represent consistency with a norm or, equally, deviation from a norm. The multiplicity of family systems implies a great variety in the combination of their modes of reproduction : age at first experience of sexual intercourse, abortion and contraception, pre-marital conceptions, « trial marriages », marriages, divorce and remarriage.

So we shall find illegitimacy « structures » analagous to the marriage structures to which Hajnal drew attention very early on (« Pattern of European Marriage »). It is the existence of these opposing configurations which will explain the extreme diversity of illegitimacy levels. After denoting them, we shall consider the dynamics of these patterns, the transition from one to another, and their evolution as far as that can be judged from the relevant indices which extend over fairly long periods (in some cases more than a century).

3. TRENDS IN ILLEGITIMACY RATES

The illegitimacy rate is the simplest measurement that can be imagined : the number of out-of-wedlock births is expressed as a proportion of total births. This index will shortly come in for some criticism, but first we shall refer to it in connection with the long series of illegitimacy rates that are available. Table I-V-5 shows these rates for 24 OECD countries since the last war ; and, while it is quite usual to find a convergence of fertility or mortality trends for the different developed countries, here another pattern emerges : different levels, but also opposite trends. Thus, a first group of countries have experienced a rapid rise in the ratio of out-of-wedlock births : Sweden (from 9.3 to 31.4 per cent), New Zealand (3.8 to 15.2 per cent), Canada, Australia, Denmark and the United States.

In a second group of countries the recent rise has simply interrupted a secular decline : in Finland the rate was 6 per cent in 1946, 4 per cent in 1961 and 9 per cent in 1973. The trend is the same in Norway and in England. In these three countries the decline was gradual and the upswing sharp, but in others (Austria, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Ireland, Greece, Netherlands) it was the post-war decline that was rapid and the upturn that has been all but imperceptible, so the level in 1956 or thereabouts in these countries was higher than the level today.

In some countries these movements are almost indiscernible, although the constant level varies amazingly from one country to another : Iceland (30 per cent), France (7 per cent), Luxembourg (3.5 per cent), Switzerland (3.5 per cent), Yugoslavia (8 per cent).

Finally, and there can be no further variants, three countries have experienced a continuous decline in the number of illegitimate births : in Portugal the rate fell from 12 per cent in 1946 to 7 per cent in 1973, in Japan from 2.5 per cent in 1950 to 0.8 per cent in 1974, and in Spain from 6 per cent in 1946 to 1.5 per cent in 1974.

Not only are these trends very dissimilar, but they bear no relationship to geographical proximity or the levels recorded : for example, there is the same time path for Austria and the Netherlands (whose rates are eight times lower than Austria's), or for Iceland and Luxembourg (whose rates are nearly ten times lower than Iceland's).

This diversity, which is becoming more rather than less pronounced, defies any simple explanation. It is neither the disintegration of *mores*, nor easy living, nor the influence of the media, since these factors make themselves felt equally in countries where illegitimate births are on the increase and in those where they are on the decline, in countries where such births are numerous and in others where they are becoming rare. Before we actually consider what factors have an effect on the frequency of out-of-wedlock births, we would make the point that these factors are rather different from those that influence legitimate births.

Legitimate births are described and explained by fertility theorists with the aid of a complicated apparatus based on family planning and its possible setbacks (so they define « ideal numbers of children », « desired » births, contraception of a « temporary » or « permanent » nature, « spacing » of births, etc.). Consequently, it seems wrong to use the same construction for illegitimate births, except to admit that they come from a society which is the shadow, as it were, of the marriage society. This apart, there is no longer any reason to use the illegitimacy rates since they become the ratio of one independent quantity to another : an illegitimacy rate may equally well rise because of an increase in out-of-wedlock births or because of a fall in legitimate births (which has indeed been the case in nearly all the developed countries during the 1970s). This inadequacy of the illegitimacy rates is clearly apparent in Table I-V-6 which shows legitimate and illegitimate births since 1965 in Austria, the United States, the Netherlands and Sweden.

The trend of out-of-wedlock births runs counter to the trend of illegitimacy rates in Austria and the Netherlands. In Austria the rate rose slowly, whereas the number of these births decreased steadily. Similarly, in the Netherlands the rate remained constant while the absolute number of illegitimate births declined. But this does not indicate a general rule, since there is the case of Sweden where illegitimate births are on the increase both in number and proportionately. The same can be said of the United States, but the absolute figures conceal pitfalls, too : out-of-wedlock births depend on the

Table I-V-6

Numbers of legitimate and illegitimate births for a few developed countries between 1966 and 1975

	Austria			United States			Netherlands			Sweden		
	Births (millions)			Births (thousands)			Births			Births		
	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Ratio	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Ratio	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Ratio	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Ratio
1966	114.7	14.7	11.4	3 303	303	8.4	235.2	4.8	2.0	105.0	18.0	14.6
1967	112.4	14.6	11.5	3 204	317	9.0	234.0	5.0	2.1	102.7	18.3	15.1
1968	110.9	15.1	12.0	3 162	340	9.7	232.3	4.7	2.0	95.1	17.9	15.8
1969	106.2	14.8	12.2	3 240	360	10.0	242.5	5.5	2.2	89.6	17.4	16.3
1970	97.7	14.3	12.8	3 331	400	10.7	234.0	5.0	2.1	89.8	20.2	18.4
1971	94.8	14.2	13.0	3 154	402	11.3	222.5	4.5	2.0	89.4	24.6	21.6
1972	89.8	14.2	13.7	2 854	404	12.4	209.9	4.1	1.9	83.9	28.1	25.1
1973	84.6	13.4	13.7	2 729	408	13.0	191.3	3.7	1.9	78.0	31.0	28.4
1974	83.6	13.4	13.8	2 748	418	13.2	182.3	3.7	2.0	74.8	34.2	31.4
1975	81.3	12.7	13.5									

Source : United Nations Demographic Yearbooks.

number of unmarried women, so if that number increases, illegitimate births may increase although, proportionally, each unmarried woman runs a smaller « risk » of experiencing that event. This is precisely the case in the United States, where the rise in the age at marriage has increased the number of young unmarried women. Table I-V-6 shows the ratio of illegitimate births to the number of unmarried women aged between 15 and 44 (illegitimate fertility rate) in recent years. In this case, the rates have fallen after peaking in about 1971.

So now we have three different results according to the method of measurement :

— the illegitimacy rate rose by 23 per cent between 1970 and 1974 ;

— at the same time, out-of-wedlock births remained almost stationary (4.5 per cent increase) ;

— the illegitimate fertility rate fell by 14 per cent.

We have already criticised the first of these rates, but the second has its faults, too. Embraced within it is a very great diversity of situations, as, for instance, the difference between black mothers and white mothers. Age, too, has a major influence, and the age distribution of mothers of illegitimate children is much younger and more concentrated than that of married mothers.

Table I-V-7

Illegitimate fertility rates in the United States according to colour

	Total	White	Black
1965	24.4	11.5	94.4
1968	25.0	13.0	83.0
1969	26.4	13.5	86.6
1970	29.1	13.9	89.9
1971	28.1	12.5	90.6
1972	27.0	12.0	86.9
1973	26.4	11.9	84.2
1974	25.7	11.8	81.5

The figures in Table I-V-8 throw more light on this last point and, to an extent, they explain each other : the risk of an out-of-wedlock birth after age 20 has diminished very rapidly among black women and a little less so for white women, but the fall in legitimate births has been even more rapid, so that the illegitimacy rate has risen after age 20. Below the age of 20 there is an increase in out-of-wedlock fertility. Since the majority of unmarried women are very young, this indicates an increased risk at those ages and a concentration of the distribution of illegitimate births.

a) *Factors of variability and stability in a few countries*

Whether it be through a more detailed breakdown, or over a longer period of time, or according to age group, the same problems that emerged when we considered illegitimacy in the United States appear in every other country.

The regularity of the trends since 1945 makes it necessary first of all to study longer series that show turning points or constancies that could explain the current differences of level and direction. Accordingly, Table I-V-9 shows the trend of illegitimacy rates in most countries since official statistics were introduced.

One should not make too much of the secular growth of illegitimacy in several of the Northern countries. Some recent studies by P. Laslett[1] have shown an extraordinary fluctuation of illegitimacy there. In England, for example, it fell during the 16th century and reached a low point in the 17th century. In the 1800s it began to rise again, peaked at the beginning of the 19th century, and began to fall back at the time when the first reliable statistics appeared. The very high illegitimacy rates in Bavaria call attention to a particular legal mechanism : in the 19th century, Malthusian ideas found considerable favour in the small German courts, and several States insisted on the possession of a property or of a trade before they would register a marriage. The likelihood is that when these conditions were not met, nature transgressed the law. But when, in 1865, this law was abolished in Bavaria, the illegitimacy rate remained high : the habit had been acquired and there was not much to fear in the way of moral sanction among the ordinary people, so a new equilibrium had been established. There can be no doubt that « illegitimacy patterns » of this kind exist in every homogeneous cultural environment. This becomes more evident when one looks at the fluctuations in illegitimacy within one country. We have chosen Austria, Canada and Portugal as each exemplifying a particular type of long-term trend. In Austria the rate is high in a number of provinces, but it probably attains the peak for Western Europe in Carinthia with two illegitimate births for every three legitimate births (Table I-V-10). In Canada there are still wider differences between provinces and it can be seen that trends run parallel. In Portugal we

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[1] P. Laslett : « Long-term trends in Bastardy in England », *Population Studies*, 27 : 255-286, 1973.

Table I-V-8

Illegitimacy rates by age and illegitimate fertility rates by age in the United States, according to colour

	< 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 +
				Illegitimacy rates			
1965	0.785	0.208	0.068	0.040	0.037	0.040	0.043
1968	0.810	0.267	0.083	0.039	0.041	0.047	0.051
1970	0.808	0.295	0.089	0.041	0.045	0.052	0.057
1973	0.848	0.339	0.108	0.049	0.050	0.065	0.079
1974	0.846	0.354	0.111	0.049	0.050	0.070	0.078
				Illegitimate fertility rate (Whites)			
1965	—	7.9	22.1	24.3	16.6	← 4.9 →	
1968	—	9.8	23.1	22.1	15.1	← 4.1 →	
1970	—	10.9	22.5	21.1	14.2	7.6	2.0
1973	—	10.7	15.6	16.1	10.7	5.9	1.7
1974	—	11.1	15.2	14.9	9.6	5.5	1.5
				Illegitimate fertility rates (Blacks)			
1965	—	75.8	152.6	164.7	137.8	← 39.0 →	
1968	—	82.8	118.3	104.4	80.6	← 25.2 →	
1970	—	90.8	121.0	93.8	69.8	32.0	10.0
1973	—	89.7	108.9	82.4	56.4	20.2	7.2
1974	—	88.8	104.3	78.8	51.6	23.3	6.7

Sources :

a) Illegitimacy : J. Menken, « *The Health and Demographic Consequences of Adolescent Pregnancy and Chilbearing* », impublished paper, using the series published in **Monthly Vital Statistics** *Monthly Vital Statistics.*

b) Fertility rates : Historical Statistics of the United States, colonial times to 1970 (for 1965, 68 and 70) : M. A. Moore and S. B. Caldwell for 1973, 74.

Table I-V-9

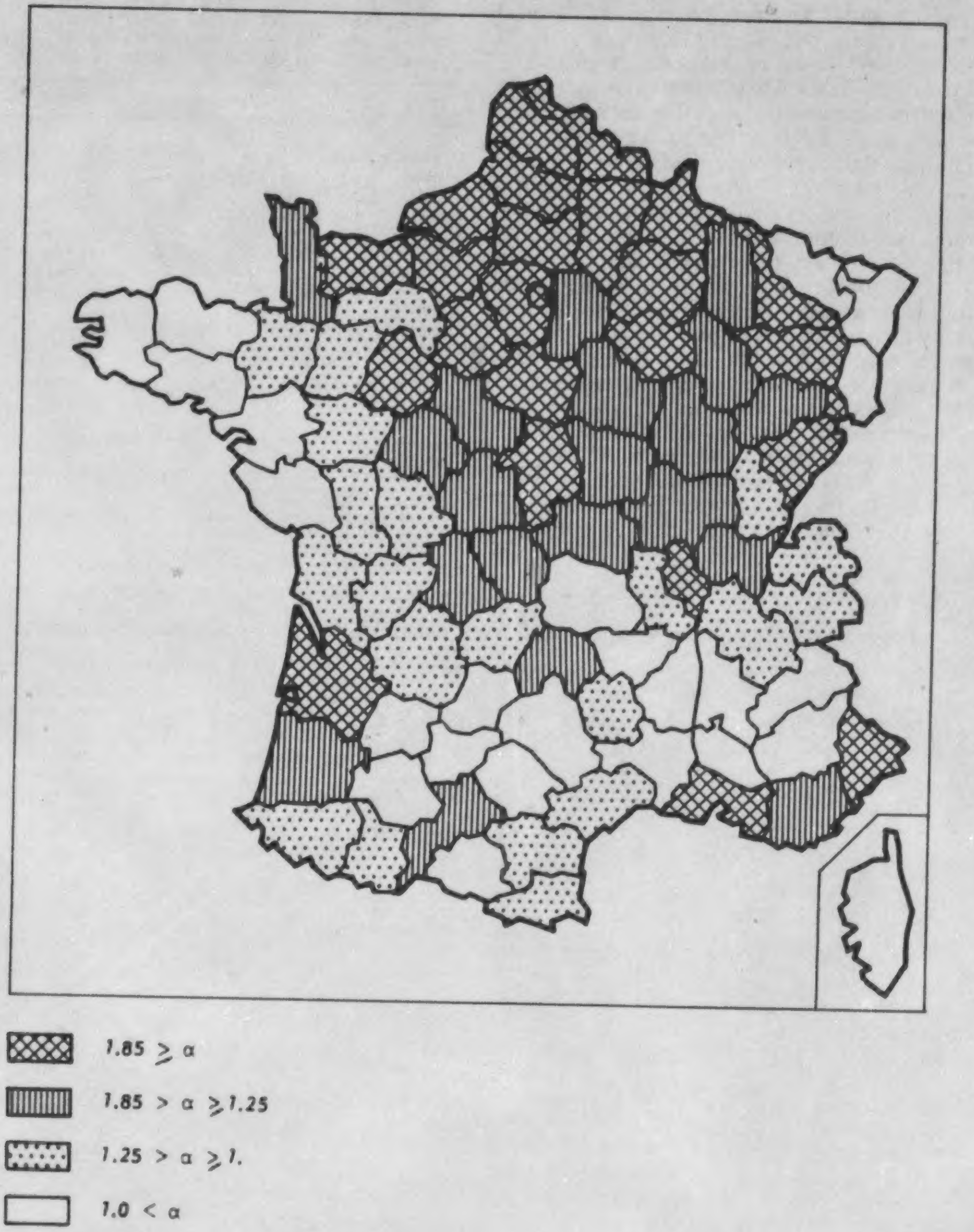
Proportion (%) of illegitimate births in various OECD countries during the 19th and earth 20th centuries

	Prussia	Bavaria	Netherlands	Belgium	France	Portugal	Spain	Italy	Luxemburg	Greece	Serbia	Japan	New Zealand	England and Wales	Denmark	Norway	Sweden	Finland	Austria	Switzerland
1750																	2.4	1.3		
1760																	2.6	1.4		
1770																	2.8	1.9		
1780																	3.5	2.9		
1790																	5.0	4.4		
1800					4.8												5.5	4.8		
1810					5.9												7.0	7.8		
1820	7.4				7.4												6.9	6.2		
1830	7.0				7.7												6.6	6.4	12.0	
1840	7.4	26.3		6.8	8.1									7.2		7.7	8.1	7.6	14.7	
1850	9.1	27.3		9.4	8.0									7.3	13.2	9.4	10.3	7.6	14.5	
1860	9.7	29.5	4.0	7.8	7.8		5.9				0.2			6.8	11.5	9.1	9.7	7.6	17.3	
1870	8.6	19.6	3.7	7.7	8.0		5.9	6.9		1.3	0.3		1.4	6.0	12.5	10.0	11.6	10.1	15.1	5.8
1880	8.5	15.0	3.0	8.4	8.0		5.0	8.0		0.9	0.8		2.4	5.1	11.2	9.1	11.4	7.9	17.1	4.8
1890	8.3	16.1	3.3	9.4	9.3	13.8	5.4	7.9	3.5		1.1		3.4	4.6	10.3	7.5	11.3	6.9	17.4	4.9
1900	7.8	15.0	2.7	8.0	9.7	13.0	5.1	6.4	3.3		1.2	9.3	4.9	4.1	10.6	7.9	12.9	6.7	15.6	4.7
1910		8.9	2.1	6.1	8.7	11.1	4.8	4.9	5.2		1.4	9.4	4.5	4.1	11.1	6.6	14.2	7.4		4.5
1920		11.2	2.1	7.0	9.9	13.4	6.2	4.7	5.4	0.7	—	8.2	4.7	4.7	13.2	7.5	15.7	8.6	23.0	4.4
1930		11.9	1.7	4.1	8.3	14.6	6.2	5.0	5.0	1.3		6.4	5.1	4.6	10.8	7.1	16.3	8.3	26.8	4.4
1935		7.8	1.5	2.9	7.0	15.2		4.8	3.6	1.3		5.7	4.4	4.2	9.1	6.7	14.2	7.1	25.0	3.9

Source : National and international yearbooks.

Map I.V.11 (a)

FRANCE : ILLEGITIMATE FERTILITY RATES BY DEPARTMENT, 1892-1896


▩ 1.85 ≥ α
▥ 1.85 > α ≥ 1.25
░ 1.25 > α ≥ 1.
☐ 1.0 < α

see that in all the provinces where illegitimate births exceed the average the proportion is falling, whilst in all the provinces where these births are short of the average it is rising. The apparent stability of the Portuguese rate thus conceals contrasting movements and marked regional disparities.

Other countries would show us the same regional contrasts, but also the same stability over time. France has been taken here as an example (Map No. I-V-11(a) and (b)). From 1891 to 1968 the « illegitimacy map » remained almost exactly the same. Despite industrialisation and large-scale migratory movements, no more than a very few territorial departments changed position. It should be added that this distribution remains rather mysterious and cannot be related to any other phenomenon (urbanisation, education, wealth, industry, system of ownership, etc.). Within this fixed geographical pattern some major structural changes have occurred and all tend towards a decline in the average age of unmarried mothers. Table I-V-12 shows this clearly. There, « illegitimate fertility rates by age » have been calculated by establishing the ratio between births to mothers of a certain age and the population of widows, single women and divorced women of the same age. The result is very clear-cut. In Iceland, for example, the rate for the under-20s has increased by a factor of 12 in a hundred years, while the rates for the over-35s have declined.

Illegitimacy is tending to concentrate more and more in the young age groups. The same Table I-V-12 gives the illegitimate fertility rates by age in greater detail, and it can be seen that in New Zealand and Canada nearly 50 per cent of out-of-wedlock births are to mothers aged under 20 (46.7 per cent and 47.8 per cent respectively). This age swing is a fundamental sign : illegitimate maternity used to be a permanent situation, whereas now it is becoming temporary, either because the birth is legitimized by a marriage or because contraception is becoming very effective. We must therefore now consider what are the conditions for entering and leaving this temporary situation.

4. THE EXTRA-MARITAL FAMILY

An out-of-wedlock birth may also be regarded as the culmination of a sequence of essential events, which are to a greater or lesser degree decided or desired and which condition the frequency of the phenomenon in consequence.

The first of these events is, of course, the onset of menstruation, the commencement of the period of female fertility. The next event is the first experience of sexual intercourse, then comes conception and, after that is known, the decision not to terminate the pregnancy and not to get married. The timing of these events and the factors that influence them ultimately determine the number of illegitimate births. We shall briefly consider each one and see that it is subject to a great many influences.

Table I-V-10

Illegitimacy rates in the Canadian provinces

Province	Illegitimacy rate	
	1951-55	1973
Newfoundland	3.2	11.3
Nova Scotia	5.9	11.9
New Brunswick	4.0	10.7
Quebec	3.2	7.4
Ontario	3.2	6.7
Manitoba	4.5	13.4
Saskatchewan	4.4	15.4
Alberta	4.8	11.0
British Columbia	6.1	11.5
Yukon	12.9	24.8
North-West-Territory	7.5	26.6
Canada	3.8	9.0

Source : Statistical Yearbook, 1976.

Illegitimacy rates in the Portuguese provinces

Province	Illegitimacy rate	
	1970	1971
Aveiro	3.9	4.0
Beja	22.7	20.6
Braga	2.6	2.7
Bragança	9.7	8.7
Castelo Branco	3.1	3.3
Coïmbra	4.6	4.5
Evora	15.2	14.5
Faro	13.2	12.2
Guarda	2.8	3.4
Leiria	6.8	7.0
Lisboa	12.4	13.0
Portalegre	8.7	8.3
Porto	5.3	5.4
Santarem	7.7	7.4
Setubal	17.1	15.3
Viana	4.8	4.9
Vila Real	6.5	6.5
Viseu	4.7	4.9
Angra	3.1	3.7
Horta	2.9	2.6
Ponta Delgada	1.7	1.8
Funchal	2.6	3.1
Total	7.2	7.3

Sources : « Population of Portugal » CICRED 1976.

Illegitimacy rates in the Austrian provinces

	1911-15	1916-20	1921-25	1926	1928
Vienna	28.0	22.5	16.8	23.0	24.0
Niederösterreich	15.2	17.5	15.5	18.2	21.2
Oberösterreich	19.8	24.8	21.6	23.7	25.0
Salzburg	25.9	29.2	27.9	31.6	32.1
Steiermark	29.6	31.7	28.8	30.8	32.6
Kärnten	36.9	38.9	37.9	39.9	41.5
Tirol	17.4	20.6	16.3	18.8	20.4
Vorarlberg	6.7	8.1	6.9	7.9	9.1
Burgenland			12.3	13.7	15.6
Total	23.5	24.7	21.5	24.6	26.5

Source : « Die Unehelichen in Österreich », W. Hecke, Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, 1930.

Map I.V.11 (b)

FRANCE: ILLEGITIMACY RATES BY DEPARTMENT, 1967-1969

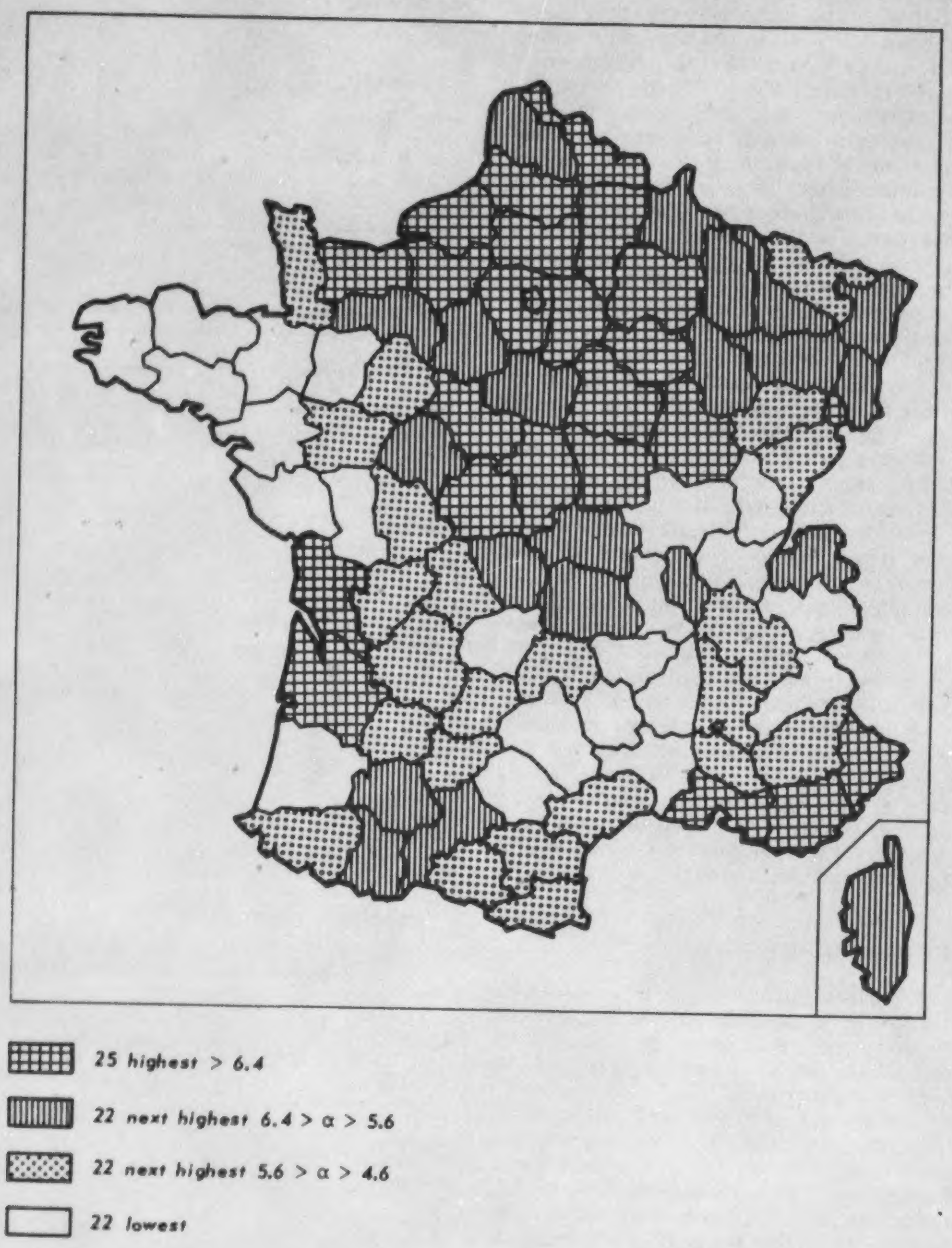

25 highest > 6.4
22 next highest 6.4 > α > 5.6
22 next highest 5.6 > α > 4.6
22 lowest

Table I-V-12
Illegitimate fertility rates by age and distribution of illegitimate births by age of mother in selected countries

	Iceland (rate)			
	1856-65	1906-15	1946-55	1973
— 15				
15-19	5	5	47	64
20-24	39	28	104	145
25-29	63	44	89	99
30-34	62	54	74	76
35-39	52	46	43	44
40-44	24	23	17	15
45 +	3	4	1	0

Source : Statistical yearbooks 1975.

	United States (rate)		
	1940	1960	1970
— 15			
15-19	7.4	15.3	22.4
20-24	9.5	39.7	38.4
25-29	7.2	45.1	37.1
30-34	5.1	27.8	27.0
35-39	3.4	14.1	13.3
40-44	1.2	3.6	3.6
45 +	—	—	—

Source : Historical statistics : Colonial times to 1970.

	France (distribution of births)	
	1892-95	1973
— 15		
15-19	9	20.1
20-24	28	40.8
25-29	35	20.5
30-34	28	9.3
35-39	16	6.4
40-44	6	2.7
45 +	1	0.2

Source : Statistical yearbooks.

	New Zealand (total illegitimate births)	Canada (total illegitimate births)
	1974	1973
12	1	305
13	10	
14	56	
15	329	951
16	728	2 315
17	1 045	3 382
18	1 087	3 704
19	989	3 356
20	821	9 117
21	629	
22	552	
23	485	
24-29	1 711	3 778
30-34	574	1 566
35-39	209	650
40-44	68	
45 +	4	

a) *Age at first menstruation*

Although there are no very recent studies on this subject, a great many were carried out in the 1930s. They all show a rapid decline in the age at first menstruation, which in about 1900 was between 15 and 17 years and fell by 3 or 4 years in less than a half-century. The age is now 12 ½ in the United States. In itself this decline is of no consequence, but it has the effect of accelerating the onset of the subsequent events when the very young age is an obstacle to effective contraception.

Little is known about the reasons for the decline in age at first menstruation. The factors usually cited as responsible are both biological (food with a higher protein and hormone content, better balanced diets) and social (more frequent interaction with other young people and adults, suppression of inhibitions as a result of sex education, influence of films and publications). Certainly the span of childhood is becoming shorter and shorter : the simulation of adult life through increasingly realistic games, but also through heavier responsibilities, is little by little compressing that special world which childhood has constituted for a century and a-half.

b) *Age at first experience of sexual intercourse*

The next stage is much more difficult to be certain about, for all we have to go by is a number of limited surveys based on interviews or questionnaires. One of the best was the one carried out by Zelnik and Kautner in the United States in 1970. It shows a fast-moving trend in *mores,* as can be seen from Table I-V-13 ; but an enormous bias is implicit in this sample, since it concerns females who have already had an out-of-wedlock birth. Contraceptive methods too, become more effective the longer one uses them.

One should note here too, the probability that these first two events are linked not only at the level of individuals (the earlier the onset of menstruation, the earlier the first experience of sexual intercourse) but also globally — the increasingly widespread image of precocious sexuality influencing the physical development of that sexuality and, therefore, the onset of menstruation.

Table I-V-13

Distribution of age at first experience of sexual intercourse according to birth cohort in the United States (survey by Zelnik and Kautner)

Age at first experience of sexual intercourse	Age in 1970				
	15	16	17	18	19
12	8.0	5.5	5.1	6.0	1.4
13	17.5	3.7	3.3	4.3	1.2
14	30.8	10.4	6.9	2.8	0.6
15	43.7	29.8	14.4	6.8	1.3
16		50.6	51.4	16.6	11.7
17			24.9	30.3	23.7
18				33.2	35.7
19					24.4

c) *First conception*

A subject in vogue among demographers is infertility or sub-fertility of very young females. But difficulties of measurement and observation biases combine to make this area impossibly embroiled. Admittedly, fertility is not established with the first menstruation, but it follows on so rapidly that the risk of conception may be considered high in the first experience of sexual intercourse. (It used to be claimed that the cycle of the first experience was less fertile, notably because of emotional upsets and embarrassments on the honeymoon[2]).

The factor that reduces the chances of a first conception is not biological, therefore, but technical. It is contraception. A lot of factors tend to work against the use of contraceptive methods on the first occasion of intercourse : the emotion and intense affectivity associated with the occasion, the impromptu nature of the experience, the sudden unreasoning decision, the « love-at-first-sight » element, the physical urge — none of these elements could be said to be conducive to systematic practice of contraception. Then, too, there is the irregularity of the first experiences ; periods of sexual relations being interspersed with periods of abstinence. Finally, these tendencies necessarily become more pronounced as the age at first experience of intercourse decreases ; namely when there is less knowledge of contraception and less foresight or forethought.

d) *Abortion and marriage*

Once conception has been established, there is now the possibility in many developed countries of having the pregnancy terminated. However, this course is not chosen by the majority of the young women who have conceived out-of-wedlock. This reluctance can be attributed to psychological arguments both positive and negative. Fear of the operation, abhorrence of what a dominant ideology designates as the destruction of life, the impression that a child is a companion, a game almost, and in any case only a tiny burden, all these feelings inspire an aversion to abortion. Indeed it would seem that, on the contrary, the coming of a child is often desired for a number of emotional reasons. It enables the mother-to-be to express her feelings with greater security, it may also be a means of signifying the desire to wed to a less impatient partner, this being in fact the case with two-thirds of out-of-wedlock conceptions (Cutright's calculation for the United States).

So, far from being an obstacle to marriage or signifying a refusal to wed, the out-of-wedlock conception may be the first step to the altar. It also denotes the ability of the two partners to create life, to participate in the process of reproduction, so that they are reassured on that score. From many standpoints, therefore, conception is oriented towards birth rather than abortion. There is reason to think that abortion tends to be resorted to by more experienced women, those who indeed are not contemplating marriage and no longer desire proofs of their fertility or evidence that their affections are returned. It is therefore a recourse that runs parallel with the progression of contraception and establishes itself at a later period of a woman's life. It may also be used in cases where marriage is impossible (e.g. incest or relations with a married man). However, although these arguments serve to limit recourse to abortion, such recourse remains considerable and its incidence is still highest among the youngest women, as can be seen from the breakdown for 1974 in Table I-V-14.

Another proof of the influence of abortion is furnished by the trend in out-of-wedlock births in those States where abortion is controlled and in those where it is almost completely derestricted : in

Table I-V-14

Number of abortions in the United States by age of woman

Age	Number of abortions	Per cent	Ratio to live births
15	8 630	1.5	1.16
15-19	177 196	30.9	0.49
20-24	180 735	31.5	0.26
25-29	102 917	17.9	0.18
30-34	57 046	9.9	0.24
35-39	30 689	5.3	0.39
40 +	11 873	2.1	0.59
Not known	5 073	0.9	—
Total	574 159	100.0	0.29

Source : Center for Disease Control, Abortion Surveillance, 1975, Annual Summary.

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[2] This was contended by C. Gini in his first article on the subject in 1924.

the latter the numbers of illegitimate births have fallen much more rapidly than in the former.

Finally, there are certain consequences of a birth which may determine the choice to conceive or the refusal to terminate a pregnancy. In the Scandinavian countries and in the United States, it may be advantageous from an economic point of view, in certain cases, not to marry right away. Furthermore, illegitimate births undergo « transformations » in subsequent years. Some of the children born to unwed mothers are adopted by other families (87 000 of the 400 000 illegitimate births in the United States in 1972 had this outcome) ; others are legitimized through a subsequent marriage. There is now some fairly precise information on this subject in New Zealand as the result of a law, The Children and Young Persons Act of 1974, which requires that every out-of-wedlock birth be investigated with a view to providing assistance for the mother. The findings of the New Zealand inquiries are shown in Table I-V-15. The figures are approximate and cannot really be taken to indicate the total number of illegitimate births for a number of reasons, including insufficient coverage and events occurring in different years.

Table I-V-15

Location of ex-nuptial infants in New Zealand

	1972	1973	1974
Re-registred after marriage of parents	313	274	265
Remaining with mother (parents cohabiting)	1 881	2 037	2 411
Remaining with mother (parents not cohabiting)	2 293	2 455	2 606
Placed with relatives	250	298	234
Placed with strangers with view to adoption	2 128	1 883	1 633
Placed with strangers, no expressed wish to adoption	97	73	69
In children's home or other institution on a long-term basis	59	36	32
Died	146	137	125

Source : New Zealand Yearbook, 1976.

Adoptions of illegitimate children during the same period were :

1971 : 2 674
1972 : 2 713
1973 : 2 551
1974 : 2 391

These adoptions cannot be directly expressed as a percentage of births since they may occur belatedly (of 3 366 adoptions in 1974, 1 418 concerned children aged under 1 year, 1 194 children aged 1 to 4, 498 children aged 5 to 9 and 256 children aged 10 and over.

5. ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS IN THE FAMILY CYCLE

We now have the information we need to be able to describe out-of-wedlock births as an actual part of the lives of families and their reproduction.

A sequence of events is taking place, each to an extent independent yet interacting with the others. First of all, age at first menstruation is falling, thus exposing young females to the risks of conception earlier in their lives. At this younger age, less is known about contraception and, naturally, experience is lacking. The learning of contraceptive techniques and sex education should help here. It is in any case influential in the observed decline in age at first experience of intercourse. The risks of conception are then a function of ignorance of contraceptive techniques. But they are also a function of certain calculations with a view to marriage. Whether the conception precipitates an irrevocable decision or whether it just points the way there, it certainly causes a sort of pre-marital surplus which can then be variously interpreted. So, side by side with marriage proper, we eventually find a rival pattern of life, the « trial-run » marriage, which is becoming increasingly common in the Nordic countries (30 per cent of unions between the ages of 25 and 29, 48 per cent in Sweden)[3].

Once conception has been ascertained, marriage may take place, but so may abortion. It does not always, since situations change quickly and are not really planned at those young ages : the possibility of legitimization and recourse to adoption compete with abortion and limit its incidence. Then, too, there are important psychological motives, from the desire for the security of motherhood to the satisfaction of proving reproductive ability ; not to mention the influences which work on the unconscious and which are so powerful in these circumstances.

Although these observations have been far too brief, we hope to have shown how illegitimite fertility, a phenomenon habitually set apart, gains by being put back in the cycle of family life. We could have taken the same approach to divorce or any other demographic event. It should also be possible to do the same for legitimate births, although studies on this subject at present run along very formal lines (fixed concepts, emphasis on contraception techniques).

We see too in this study of out-of-wedlock births that the demographic series have neither the same object nor the same use as the economic series, although they are presented in the same way. The demographic series describe the essential events in the life of humans, while the economic series show certain moments in the life of things. So there can be no question of using either one or the other for the same purpose.

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[3] J. Trop : « Attitude and Occurrence of Cohabitation without Marriage », 6th Congress of Social Psychiatry, Belgrade, 1976.

Part Two

THE CHILD IN THE FAMILY AS SEEN THROUGH RECENT CENSUS DATA IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

INTRODUCTION

The first part of the study concluded with a double finding. Chapter IV established the impossibility of describing the family with the conventional fertility indicators : only the child's link with its mother remained in those statistics. No other person had any specific existence, not even the brothers and sisters, who might quite well have died. Conversely, Chapter V, in which out-of-wedlock births were studied at greater length, allowed some glimpses of the succession and the complexity of situations that surrounded a demographic event. Above all, births, marriages and divorces evolve in a family circle : one slowly moves away from one's family of origin, possibly to form a new cell. The demographic landscape in this journey is composed of the family in the foreground, behind it the household, then the relatives and finally the cultural or social setting in the background. The foreground areas count a great deal for the child, who has yet to become socially aware in his vision of things. It is therefore essential to be able to describe this demographic landscape despite the impossibility of using the conventional fertility indicators. There is an alternative approach, however, that could be considered using other data that exist in a state of suspension where they are not yet entirely formalised or directed towards specific aims. The limelight surrounding the conventional study of fertility causes them to remain in an area of shadow where few students will venture. At most these data appear in connection with census figures on the composition of households and families.

There are examples where these data have filled large sections of recent census publications. Two to three hundred pages of tables lie dormant there. For this there are four reasons. First, the difficulty of interpreting them sometimes appears insurmountable and one is reluctant to attribute this or that pattern to mortality, marriage or divorce : here we find the indelible imprint of classical analysis, which indeed is very ill-suited to the subject. Secondly, the categories of households and families seem to be poorly defined, despite the recommendations of international organisations. The diversity of the definitions is quite extraordinary and much unravelling has to be done before we can perceive the structure and envisage the dynamics of the family system.

Thirdly, the description of households will be very much influenced by the broad census categories : *de jure* or *de facto* population, double-counts, residence, classification of persons in hospital, prisoners, servicemen and so on. These have to be studied simultaneously if one is to understand the household. The fourth and final reason is that the purpose of these data is not very clear. Are they there to complement the fertility data ? If so, it is hard to see how to link the two. Is their purpose to describe the people at large ? But a description is not neutral. Is the aim to focus attention on specific phenomena : consumption, isolation, education conditions, hygiene of the dwelling (by way of the « overcrowding » concept) ? All these reasons carry different weight. So, with the outcome still unclear, the census takers draw up very extensive tables intended to satisfy the world and his wife, which, as everyone knows, is impossible. But even if, in their hesitancy, these statisticians satisfy nobody, they do provide data on other areas, of which *childhood* is one. These few considerations show that the data on composition of households will answer our expectations and our criticisms particularly well.

First and foremost, they will provide us with that view of the child's immediate surroundings which other data cannot. They will describe the important people in the child's circle and the family conformations that are frequent, so frequent that they finally become the ideal type. We shall see the composition of sibship and where the child ranks, whether it lives with its parents and with other relatives or even with strangers, and how the situation changes as children grow up.

Secondly, these data on households illustrate in incomparable fashion the nature of statistics and the comments made about them in Chapters II and IV. Below the surface homogeneity of the definitions there lies an extraordinary mass of diversity. No two countries use the same system of description, even those with the closest resemblance differ on all points so as virtually to preclude comparison. And these differences are not confined to the nature of the household : they extend to the choice of head of household, the definition of families, the principles of organisation and their enactment.

Little by little one gets the impression that each country is unburdening itself of a major obsession, that it is confiding a part of its family system. One has the feeling of leaving demography and statistics behind and venturing into the realm of ethnology. This is because the extraordinary difficulty of description imposes simplifications, through which the

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customs of the country steal and gradually permeate the whole of the system concerned. This may seem strange and the reader is understandably incredulous, so certain is he that he is living in a simple family system. As far as he is concerned, he does, and he cannot see all the accidents and breaks and contradictions, but only the ideal or dominant types. Yet the country representing the lowest common denominator uses 10 household categories at least, the countries around the average reason with some fifty types, while the countries where precision is greatest manipulate several hundreds of configurations that have to be classified and fitted into the description in the correct time sequence.

Let us just take the relatively easy example of the ages of children in a family nucleus composed of a couple and their two children : even keeping it down to children aged under ten, there are already 55 possible cases (1 year and 2 years, 1 year and 3 years, etc.), and with 3 children there would be 220 different cases. The same phenomenon occurs with the respective positions of the members of the family : the presence of progenitors, relatives, friends or domestics quickly multiplies the number of cases to be considered and makes it necessary to regroup or practise some kind of selection. It is here that each country forsakes the common definitions and launches into its own individual description.

Initially one had the impression that it was easy to describe the family. The foregoing remarks are liable to create entirely the opposite impression, namely that of insurmountable complexity.

In order to strike a balance, we shall carefully examine the system that each country has adopted, how it has defined the household and the family, and to what linkages it has given preference. At the same time we shall glean a lot of information about childhood surroundings in these countries.

So, after a short chapter to introduce the principal techniques of household analysis, what will follow in this part will be a succession of country monographs.

In these monographs we shall try to determine the consistency and originality of each country's approach. Luxembourg will be seen to be poles apart from France and Belgium ; nothing in common will be found between Sweden and Norway, or Germany and Austria. Switzerland might as well be on some distant planet, and the resemblances between Spain and Portugal will be few and far between. We leave it to the reader, with this feast of diversity spread before him, to hope and strive to regroup or compare. In short, we shall be more concerned with internal coherence than with external analogy. Later on, even, we shall sometimes be obliged to dissect a country and pick out areas which obey opposite family logics.

The size of the project will perhaps excuse its patent shortcomings. Only 20 of the OECD countries have been studied. The other 5 had to be excluded for various reasons, namely :

- For Turkey there was virtually nothing that could be used, only a fertility survey already dating back a long way and used in the CICRED (Centre international de coordination des études et recherches en démographie) monograph.
- In the case of Denmark and Holland, linguistic difficulties made it impossible to find any interesting tables.
- For Canada, the enormous amount of information by geographical area has the effect of diminishing the overall description and the number of indicators.
- For Australia, we were unable to consult the « households » section of the 1975 census.

For the other 20 countries, we have used only the official sources for two reasons :

- First, because surveys always pose difficult problems as regards « representativeness », especially as factors connected with the structure of the family are nearly always used in establishing the sampling plan.
- Secondly, because the official statistics services give us an *official* picture of the family and the household. The fact that relatively comparable services in the different countries produce results that are all but incomparable is an important one to study. Other sources (social security, education, pension bodies) vary too much from country to country and it was too difficult to go into their categories and judge the worth of their data. Furthermore, the various sources have fairly distinct aims in view and we have already seen that census taking was more ambiguous on the subject of households.

We often had great difficulty in understanding certain aspects of the descriptive methods used in this or that country, and we have probably committed errors of interpretation for linguistic reasons. The objection might be made that all that was needed was to get a big organisation to post a correspondent in each country to garner all the possible information, which would then have been sifted through a screen of interpretations. We think that the solo approach is preferable since it is better able to weld views and comments together than a huge conglomerate whose screens and anonymity recreate the very statistical categories that are so ephemeral in this field.

Chapter I

HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILIES : GENERAL

The worker, or economically active person as he is called, is the basic unit used in calculating production : he has this or that training, qualification and occupation. But on the consumption side it is the household that is the relevant unit : it is there that the decisions are taken and equipment in the form of durable goods is installed. Since demand emanates from households, they very quickly became an interesting subject of study for economic policy-makers, but also for industry in its market research. Households were observed with the aim of obtaining certain information on families for the purposes of social planning : overall amount of allowances to be paid for dependent children or for old people living alone, housing requirements and so on.

The mingling of these concerns is attributable to the mingling of functions of the household as such. The household is defined in spatial terms inasmuch as it occupies a « dwelling » or « a group of rooms », or even « premises » or a « housekeeping unit », depending on the country. But it is also very closely linked with the family, since in most cases the persons who live together are related to each other. Lastly, the household constitutes such a tightly cohesive unit of action and consumption that it is almost impossible to distinguish who consumes what, impossible to apportion among the members a car or a refrigerator, or even to assign to each a specific portion of a meal.

All these reasons, but especially spatial self-containment, have made the household the basic unit of nearly every census. It is therefore an important statistical concept, but the variety of its definitions continues to express the diversity of its functions : certain countries stress the sharing of expenditure, others location, and still others the family relationships.

In an endeavour to make more sense of all this, we shall begin by looking at the United Nations proposed definition and its tentative classification of the country definitions. We shall then briefly cite each country definition as at around 1970, and subsequently examine each country without any attempt at synthesis.

A whole tome would not suffice to encompass this work, so we have concentrated on those countries with important and readily accessible data and will mention the others just briefly.

We shall not reproduce many tables, since each country published different ones, and in any case the nature of the table is more important for our purpose than its content. Each has to be seen as a possible new way of describing childhood and as an expression of the country's family structure.

1. THE UNITED NATIONS DEFINITION AND THOSE OF THE OECD COUNTRIES

For the United Nations, « a person who lives alone in a separate housing unit or who, as a lodger, occupies a separate room or rooms in a part of a housing unit... (or) a group of two or more persons who combine to occupy the whole or part of a housing unit and to provide themselves with food or other essentials for living » is considered to constitute a household. This definition, which was recommended for the 1960 censuses, has by no means been adopted by all countries. Here follow the national definitions.

Austria : Persons who live together and have a common economic life form a private household. Also isolated persons can have their own household. Only non-self-supporting persons (generally lodgers up to 21 years old) are always members of the household. Other lodgers are household members only if they share the household budget.

Australia : A group of persons living together as a domestic unit with common eating arrangements.

Belgium : One person usually living alone, or two or more persons related or not, having their usual residence in the same dwelling and having a common life.

Canada : The person or group of persons occupying a dwelling.

Denmark : United Nations definition, except that married couples, with or without children, are always counted as separate households (i.e. the concept of multi-family households does not exist).

Finland : United Nations definition.

France : One person, or all persons, related or not, who share a dwelling.

Federal Republic of Germany : All persons living together in a housekeeping unit. A person separately occupying a house, part of a house, flat, etc. and housekeeping separately will be regarded as a separate household.

Greece : Person living alone or lodger not sharing meals with others ; group of persons, related or not, in the same dwelling and making common provision for food.

Iceland : United Nations definition.

Ireland : United Nations definition.

Italy : United Nations definition.

Japan : A group of two or more persons sharing living quarters and living expenses, or a person who lives by himself and occupies a house.

Luxembourg : Same as Belgium.

Netherlands : United Nations definition.

New Zealand : Total occupants of a single dwelling.

Norway : Family members, servants and lodgers who have full board or at least dinner. Lodgers who do not have full board or dinner are separate households. When several lodgers have housekeeping in common, they are one household.

Portugal : A group of persons linked by legitimate or illegitimate conjugal union or kinship who habitually utilize the same accommodation, or an individual occupying an accommodation, plus servants residing in the accommodation. Persons, such as resident guests (but excepting servants) who are residents but are not relatives of the person entered as head of the household, constitute separate households.

Spain : United Nations definition.

Sweden : All persons, related or unrelated, registered as living in the same dwelling. Also, persons not registered as living in a dwelling or not known to belong to any dwelling household.

Switzerland : A group of persons living together in well-defined premises, as well as lodgers living with the owner or main tenant.

Turkey : One person or a group of persons, with or without a family relationship, who live in the same house or in the same part of a house, who share their meals, earnings and expenditures and who take part in the management of the household and who render services to the household.

United Kingdom : One person living alone or a group of persons living together, partaking of meals together and benefiting from a common housekeeping. A person or persons living but not boarding with a household in a house, flat, etc. should be treated as a separate household. But a person living with the household who usually has at least one main meal a day provided by that household while in residence, is part of the household. A household must have exclusive use of at least one room. If two people share one room and do not have exclusive use of at least one other room, they should be treated as one household.

United States : All the persons who occupy a housing unit. A house, an apartment or other group of rooms, or a single room, is regarded as a housing unit when it is occupied or intended for occupancy as separate living quarters. Separate living quarters are those in which the occupants do not live and eat with any other persons in the structure and in which there is either (1) direct access from the outside or through a common hall or (2) a kitchen or cooking equipment for the exclusive use of the occupants.

Yugoslavia : A family or community of persons whose members live together and share their income, and each individual living by himself or living with other persons but not jointly spending their income.

In its analysis of post-war censuses, which already goes back a long way, the United Nations tried to regroup these rather disparate definitions while attempting a classification of households.

First of all, each definition excludes certain persons who cannot be regarded as forming part of a household. These « separately counted » persons are included in institutional households which it is sometimes quite difficult to separate from private households for, while there is little ambiguity in the case of major categories of institution such as hotels, homes for the aged, mental institutions, hospitals, military installations, convents and so on, the case of sub-tenants is a delicate one. If there are only a few of them they are generally considered to be members of the household, but where there is in effect an unofficial hotel they have to be excluded from the household.

A number of countries use special criteria for resolving these cases : a maximum number of lodgers or else a maximum ratio of lodgers to members of the family. The very concept of « lodger » has given rise to countless meetings of experts : should he be regarded as a boarder, is he not one of the household if he takes his midday meal on his own and the evening meal with his hosts, and breakfast ? One sees the kind of difficulty posed by definitions involving meals. These same difficulties apply to the identification of separate households within housing units.

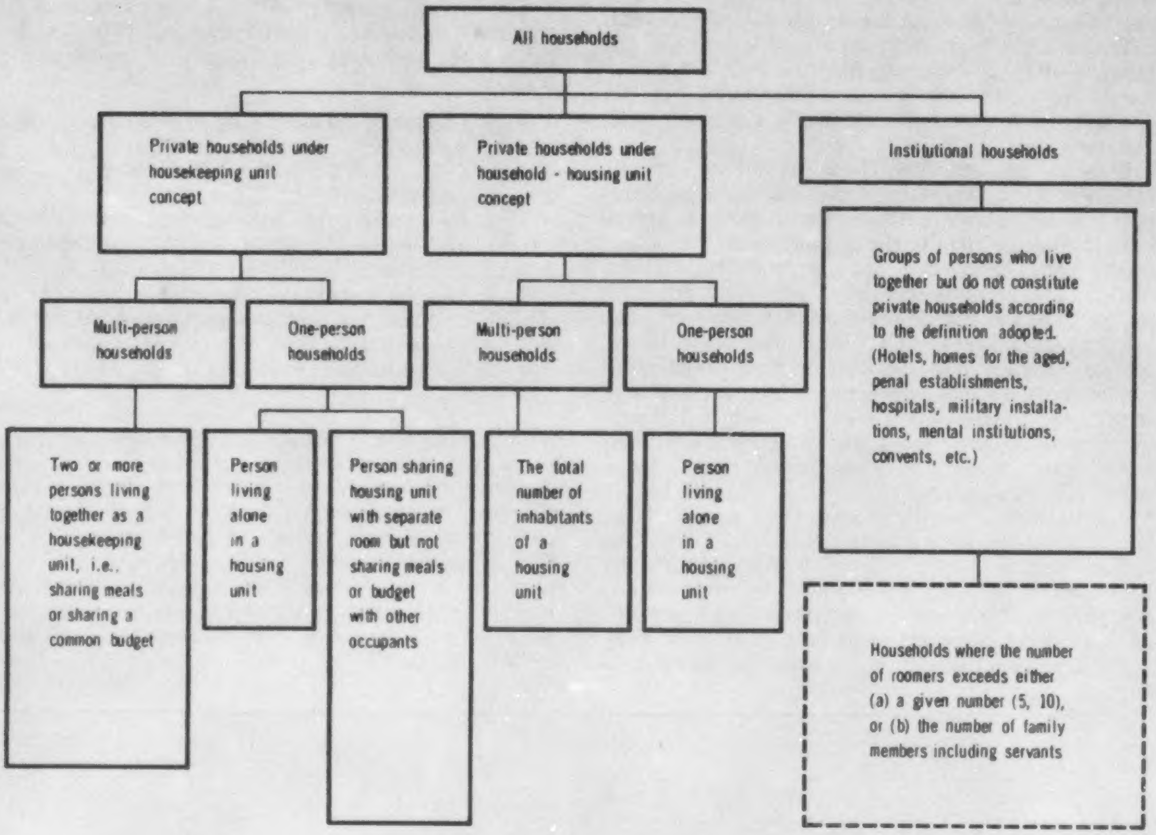
On this question of delimiting households, the United Nations considered that two different concepts were involved.

- First, the « household-housing unit » concept where sharing of accommodation is the sole or possible criterion ;
- and second, the « housekeeping unit » concept where pooling of resources and sharing of expenditure constitute the paramount consideration.

But reality is far from being as simple as that, for there are hybrid situations and even unclassifiable definitions. The complex connotations of the word « household » are hardly simplified by those definitions that refer one to other definitions which themselves are complex. What, for instance, is a housing unit ? Or, in the case of the household-housekeeping unit, how does one define « food or other essentials for living » ?

Figure II.I.1

DEFINITION CATEGORIES PROPOSED BY THE UNITED NATIONS


All households
Private households under housekeeping unit concept
Private households under household - housing unit concept
Institutional households
Multi-person households
One-person households
Multi-person households
One-person households
Groups of persons who live together but do not constitute private households according to the definition adopted. (Hotels, homes for the aged, penal establishments, hospitals, military installations, mental institutions, convents, etc.)
Two or more persons living together as a housekeeping unit, i.e., sharing meals or sharing a common budget
Person living alone in a housing unit
Person sharing housing unit with separate room but not sharing meals or budget with other occupants
The total number of inhabitants of a housing unit
Person living alone in a housing unit
Households where the number of roomers exceeds either (a) a given number (5, 10), or (b) the number of family members including servants

These definitions allow the census taker a fair amount of freedom so that he is soon tempted to proceed more by tradition than by reason, so complex is the material to be classified. The dichotomy between the definition categories proposed by the United Nations is shown in a chart taken from the United Nations handbook of population census methods (Graph II-I-1). At that time, each country, with the exception of three, was classified in one or other of the two categories. If we try to repeat that operation here, we get the following :

Definition of a « Housekeeping unit »

Austria : « common economic life », excluding lodgers who do not share the « household budget ».

Australia : « a domestic unit » with « common eating arrangements ».

Belgium-Luxembourg : « a common life ».

Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Spain : have adopted the United Nations definition.

Greece : sharing meals and « common provision for food ».

Japan : « sharing living expenses ».

Norway : « dinner » shared.

Turkey : shared « meals, earnings and expenditures », participation in the « management of the household » and rendering of « services » to the household.

United Kingdom : « meals prepared together » and « a common housekeeping ».

Yugoslavia : sharing of income.

We thus have a whole range of extensions to the concept of living together. The most extreme is in Turkey, where rights and duties are implied. The extension is less pronounced for Norway and Greece, where only food is a criterion, and it is almost non-existent in Yugoslavia where pooling of incomes is the sole criterion. In the case of Belgium, however, the concept is still very blurred.

Alongside these 16 countries, the 8 others which form the « household-housing unit » group are even more heterogeneous.

The purely spatial definition is in some cases masked by family considerations (Portugal), whereas these are specifically excluded by other countries (France and Sweden). The United States wavers so much between the two concepts of the household that it ends by blending them with a sort of circular definition : the household is defined in terms of the housing unit, the housing unit is defined in terms of « separate living quarters » and these living quarters are defined by reference to the concepts of meals and cooking.

Finally, we see that these definitions already canalize the relationships that establish themselves between household and family with a set of lateral indications that modify the definitions of the household. Thus, Denmark departs from the United Nations definition by separating into two households the parents and one of their children, married, who nevertheless shares their house and their meals. Norway already indicates the possible breakdowns of the household by separating « family members » from « servants » and « lodgers », while Portugal even specifies the family structure by mentioning « conjugal union » and « kinship » whether legitimate or illegitimate.

No attempt at a type classification will be made here since this diversity of definitions, far from being a hindrance, will offer a diversity of viewpoints. We have, in fact, no option to propose for inter-country comparisons. Our aim is simply to pick out the classifications that offer some sort of view of childhood, and from this standpoint wide diversity increases the chances of finding such classifications, since the statistics have not been collected for that specific purpose.

The United Nations, on the other hand, with its concern for standardization, proposed (for consideration) the following classification of multi-person households :

Type I : household consisting of a married couple without children ;

Type II : household consisting of either or both parents and unmarried children ;

Type III : household consisting of either or both parents and married children without grandchildren as well as unmarried children where applicable ;

Type IV : household consisting of either or both parents and married children with grandchildren as well as unmarried children where applicable ;

Type V : households which do not fall within types I-IV.

The designation « family households » is even suggested. We shall soon see how utopian this classification is when we examine more closely those proposed by each country, and the data published in connection with censuses or special surveys. The OECD countries have not been reviewed in any particular order. It should also be noted that certain sources may have escaped our notice, since an exhaustive study was quite beyond our resources and anyway was not at all our purpose.

Chapter II

THE FAMILY NUCLEUS IN BELGIUM

In Belgium, the very broad definition of the household, coupled with the very restrictive definition of the « family nucleus », results in one of the most detailed classifications of relationships between individuals in the same household.

The 1970 Belgian census data also enable one of the most original classifications of families according to the age of the children. Yet other interesting insights into the family are offered by the « households and family nuclei » section of the census.

1. DEFINITIONS

It will be remembered that households in Belgium are defined solely by the criterion of persons living together. The only ambiguity concerns domestic servants and workers who live with their employers : « if, however, they return to their own household at least once every week, they continue to belong to it ».

The distinction between private and collective households is very recent (1961), and would seem to have been dictated by the need for statistical consistency rather than by specifically administrative considerations, as was the case in France following the riots over the 1846 census.

The head of household is « the member who in fact directs the affairs of the household » — apparently no problem there (the head of household makes the statement himself). Lastly, as regards the family, the unit is the family nucleus, in its four traditional forms :

- married couple with no children,
- married couple with unmarried child/children,
- father with unmarried child/children,
- mother with unmarried child/children.

These definitions allow no linkage between household and family : they are at opposite poles.

2. GLOBAL AND HISTORICAL RESULTS

Since the 1846 census, the number of persons per household has dropped sharply. As elsewhere, this reflects the decline in fertility shown in Table II-II-1.

Table II-II-1

Average number of persons per household in Belgium since 1846

1846	4.87	1910	4.05
1856	4.84	1920	3.73
1866	4.65	1930	3.41
1880	4.59	1947	3.00
1890	4.56	1961	3.04
1900	4.30	1970	2.98

This decline in the average size of households is brought out even more clearly by the recent trend in the distribution of households according to number of persons (Table II-II-2). Here, though, the increase in one-person households reflects the fall in mortality and the disappearance of extensive families, rather than low fertility over a period which is still too recent to be significant.

3. BREAKDOWN OF HOUSEHOLDS

When one declines to employ the usual household classifications by age or occupation of the head of the household and its members, which are of no interest here, one is conforted with the description of the family through the household.

Here, a twofold technical problem arises : families must first be classified among themselves and then reincorporated in the households. One has, therefore, to concentrate on certain family links and completely disregard others when attempting to define the real extent of the family.

Family nuclei are the elements used in this classification of family types : identification of the nuclei starting with the children and moving on to their parents. Married children living alone with their parents following a separation or divorce, belong to the family nucleus of their parents. Starting therefore with the youngest generations, the family is broken down into a succession of nuclei to which are added a number of isolated members and « other persons » i.e. domestic servants and non-relatives.

Table II-II-2

Proportional breakdown of households according to the number of persons comprising them in 1930, 1947, 1961 and 1970. Percentage increase or decrease in these proportional shares

Number of persons per household	Proportional shares of households				Percentage increase (+) or decrease (−) of proportional shares		
	1930	1947	1961	1970	1970 compared to 1930	1970 compared to 1947	1970 compared to 1961
1	11.0	15.9	16.8	18.8	+ 70.9	+ 18.2	+ 11.9
2	25.6	30.8	30.9	30.2	+ 18.0	− 1.9	− 2.3
3	25.0	24.1	21.6	20.1	− 19.6	− 16.6	− 6.9
4	17.1	14.3	14.6	14.8	− 13.5	+ 3.5	+ 1.4
5	9.7	7.2	7.9	8.2	− 15.5	+ 13.9	+ 3.8
6	5.3	3.6	4.2	4.2	− 20.8	+ 16.7	—
7	2.9	1.9	2.0	2.0	− 31.0	+ 5.3	—
8	1.6	1.0	1.0	0.9	− 43.7	− 10.0	− 10.0
9	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.4	− 50.0	− 20.0	− 20.0
10 or more	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.4	− 60.0	− 42.9	− 20.0
Total :	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	—	—	—

This real breakdown does not coincide with the legal classifications according to civil status : it takes into consideration observed situations and not their demographic coding. The following example will make this clear.

A couple are living with their three children : the first has been married but is separated, the second is unmarried and the third — a girl — has an illegitimate child. Since the third child has a child of her own, she forms a family nucleus of the woman-plus-children type, whilst her parents form a family nucleus with *two* children and not three — as would be the case according to the biological or demographic definitions. If the illegitimate child were raised elsewhere, its mother would become a child again in the census definition.

This differentiation of family nuclei permits a preliminary classification of households by number of nuclei : non-family households — no nucleus, and households with one, two or more family nuclei. This initial classification can be immediately refined and reshaped by distinguishing the different types of family nucleus and the possible presence of « other persons ».

Table II-II-3 gives an initial breakdown of households according to these criteria : the single person

Table II-II-3

Households according to their type and the sex of the head of household. Comparison between 1961 and 1970

Percentages

Type of household	Men		Women		Total	
	1961	1970	1961	1970	1961	1970
Person living alone	34.6	33.9	65.4	66.1	100.0	100.0
Several persons not forming a family nucleus	57.9	59.9	42.1	40.1	100.0	100.0
Couple without children	99.9	99.9	0.1	0.1	100.0	100.0
Couple with unmarried child/children	99.9	99.9	0.1	0.1	100.0	100.0
Father and unmarried child/children	96.6	97.3	3.4	2.7	100.0	100.0
Mother and unmarried child/children	6.7	5.4	93.3	94.6	100.0	100.0
Couple without children and other persons not forming a family nucleus	94.6	95.8	5.4	4.2	100.0	100.0
Couple with unmarried child/children and other persons not forming a family nucleus	95.8	96.4	4.2	3.6	100.0	100.0
Father with unmarried child/children and other persons not forming a family nucleus	85.3	93.3	14.7	6.7	100.0	100.0
Mother with unmarried child/children and other persons not forming a family nucleus	45.3	39.1	54.7	60.9	100.0	100.0
Household with two or more family nuclei	0	94.4	6.0	5.6	100.0	100.0
Total number of private houselds :	82.7	81.5	17.3	18.5	100.0	100.0

Table II-II-4
Size of household according to family composition

Type of Household	Size of household										Total no. of households	Total no. of members of households
	1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	6 persons	7 persons	8 persons	9 persons	10 persons and more		
					All heads of household							
NON-FAMILY HOUSEHOLD												
Man living alone	205 639	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	205 639	205 639
Women living alone	401 742	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	401 742	401 742
Several persons not forming a family nucleus	—	81 863	10 356	2 488	816	326	187	102	59	99	96 296	214 672
Total :	607 381	81 863	10 356	2 488	816	326	187	102	59	99	703 677	822 053
HOUSEHOLD WITH A SINGLE FAMILY NUCLEUS												
Couple without children	—	786 093	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	786 093	1 572 186
Couple with unmarried children	—	—	527 039	386 872	193 933	97 085	44 593	20 715	10 087	9 252	1 289 576	5 349 821
Father with unmarried children	—	22 128	7 874	2 623	1 233	537	261	128	71	52	34 907	91 807
Mother with unmarried children	—	85 496	27 452	10 558	4 591	2 031	948	475	212	169	131 932	344 877
Couple without children + father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	—	—	32 440	23	1	—	1	—	—	—	32 465	97 424
Couple with unmarried children + father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	—	—	—	33 868	25 973	12 571	6 002	2 564	1 158	922	83 058	423 668
Father with unmarried children + father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	—	—	1 188	461	155	72	32	17	7	8	1 940	7 126
Mother with unmarried children + father (-in-law) or mother (in-law) of the head of family	—	—	3 562	1 428	561	223	71	40	11	18	5 914	21 649
Couple without children + father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family + other persons	—	—	—	1 461	127	28	6	2	1	4	1 629	6 757
Couple with unmarried children + father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of head of family + other persons	—	—	—	2	1 012	796	466	233	91	109	2 709	17 006
Father with unmarried children + father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family + other persons	—	—	—	183	95	39	20	13	2	4	356	1 748
Mother with unmarried children + father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family + other persons	—	—	—	417	221	103	44	16	16	13	830	4 110
Couple without children + other persons except for the father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	—	—	24 245	2 313	507	149	54	29	15	29	27 341	86 500
Couple with unmarried children + other persons except for the father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	—	—	—	14 058	10 497	6 135	3 629	1 800	947	1 113	38 179	206 369
Father with unmarried children + other persons except for the father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	—	—	5 112	2 614	1 332	640	322	200	94	80	10 394	41 894
Mother with unmarried children + other persons except for the father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	—	—	11 720	5 494	2 756	1 470	763	359	201	205	22 968	92 016
Total :	—	893 717	640 632	462 375	242 994	121 879	97 212	26 591	12 913	11 978	2 470 291	8 364 958
HOUSEHOLD WITH TWO OR MORE FAMILY NUCLEI												
Couple + couple of married children	—	—	—	8 683	1 805	553	301	126	67	87	11 622	51 791
Couple + couple of married children + grandchildren	—	—	—	—	11 875	8 136	3 661	1 475	622	457	26 226	156 168
Couple + son (-in-law) + grandchildren	—	—	—	719	408	157	72	33	23	15	1 427	6 991
Couple + daughter (-in-law) + grandchildren	—	—	—	1 637	1 265	565	256	143	71	102	4 039	20 975
Other households with two family nuclei	—	—	—	2 907	4 450	3 829	2 389	1 208	627	626	16 036	95 818
Other households with more than two family nuclei	—	—	—	—	—	145	218	191	140	216	910	7 709
Total :	—	—	—	13 946	19 803	13 385	6 897	3 176	1 550	1 503	60 260	339 452
Grand total :	607 381	975 580	650 988	478 809	263 613	135 590	64 296	29 869	14 522	13 580	3 234 228	9 526 463

Table II-II-4 bis
Marital status of heads of household of nuclear families

Type of household and marital status of the head of household	Age											Total
	14-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74	75 and over	
	All heads of household											
HOUSEHOLD WITH A SINGLE FAMILY NUCLEUS												
Couple without children												
Married[1]	1 296	55 991	55 785	30 713	55 210	104 991	97 305	122 040	117 991	81 352	63 419	786 093
Sub-total :	1 296	55 991	55 785	30 713	55 210	104 991	97 305	122 040	117 991	81 352	63 419	786 093
Couple with unmarried children												
Single	5	64	64	101	343	195	20	4	—	—	—	796
Married[1]	1 185	54 463	141 716	190 960	417 659	290 044	89 830	53 324	27 372	12 880	9 227	1 288 660
Widow(er)	—	—	—	5	8	36	22	11	2	—	—	84
Divorced	—	—	—	1	18	12	4	1	—	—	—	36
Sub-total :	1 190	54 527	141 780	191 067	418 028	290 287	89 876	53 340	27 374	12 880	9 227	1 289 576
Father with unmarried children												
Single	4	35	59	104	406	402	144	72	24	22	13	1 285
Married[1]	11	243	600	885	2 575	1 897	674	412	232	159	229	7 917
Widower	2	23	88	237	1 735	3 794	2 875	3 047	2 818	2 665	5 814	23 098
Divorced	—	11	75	264	1 043	802	191	113	70	20	18	2 607
Sub-total :	17	312	822	1 490	5 759	6 895	3 884	3 644	3 144	2 866	6 074	34 907
Mother with unmarried children												
Single	90	963	1 233	1 352	3 907	3 613	1 003	542	223	123	107	13 156
Married[1]	75	1 375	2 791	3 308	7 659	5 366	1 567	883	477	250	287	24 038
Widow	6	182	602	1 398	8 259	16 988	11 585	11 249	9 702	8 695	13 907	82 573
Divorced	3	176	900	1 683	4 741	3 146	699	426	201	91	99	12 165
Sub-total :	174	2 696	5 526	7 741	24 566	29 113	14 854	13 100	10 603	9 159	14 400	131 932
Father with unmarried children + other persons except for father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family												
Single	7	197	337	367	579	343	92	53	29	15	9	2 028
Married[1]	1	102	279	563	1 250	824	238	155	66	31	33	3 542
Widower	—	1	5	36	227	440	302	375	342	304	456	2 488
Divorced	—	13	109	303	854	490	124	83	25	13	3	2 017
Sub-total :	8	313	730	1 269	2 910	2 097	756	666	462	363	501	10 075
Mother with unmarried children + other persons, except for father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family												
Single	11	467	820	833	1 364	646	188	129	51	17	17	4 543
Married[1]	1	49	234	397	1 023	851	296	157	64	31	8	3 111
Widow	—	1	10	20	90	159	108	114	103	63	63	731
Divorced	—	18	154	381	1 006	624	161	85	35	9	3	2 476
Sub-total :	12	535	1 218	1 631	3 483	2 280	753	485	253	120	91	10 861

[1] Including heads of household who are legally separated.

and the four types of family nucleus are crossed with « other persons » en bloc (these may be grandparents or grandchildren without their parents). The households consisting of more than one nucleus are not broken down : they are not numerous and do not need to be sub-divided into smaller categories, of which there would be a great many in a few of the possible situations. There is nothing surprising about the fact that some mothers alone with their children form households of which the head is a man ; this is simply one of the children when he is old enough.

Table II-II-4 extends this first classification by defining the status of certain « other persons » and by singling out a few types of multi-nucleus households. Although, at first sight, 25 types of household may seem difficult to comprehend, they are in fact quite easy to describe.

For non-family households, there are three traditional groups : men alone, women alone and, lastly, a number of persons who cannot be considered a family group.

For households with a single family nucleus, the four types of nuclei are crossed with four situations characterised by the presence or absence of progenitors and other persons :

A : the single nucleus ;
B : a parent, or a parent and a parent-in-law are added, whether the nucleus is made up of a couple or not ;
C : other persons are added to these progenitors ;
D : there are other persons, but no progenitor.

This distinction is very useful in describing the environment of childhood. It shows the separation between generations even when the children are dependent on only one member of the couple. Thus, couples with or without children constitute a household on their own in 88 per cent of cases, whereas fathers with children live neither with other persons nor with progenitors in only 65 per cent of cases, and mothers live with only their children in 76 per cent of cases. These differences are not attributable to the presence of descendants (5 per cent, 4 per cent and 5 per cent respectively), but to unions that have not been made legal.

It must be pointed out that this first attempt at a detailed breakdown of families already raises delicate problems. For example, a father who is divorced, has custody of his children and lives with his mother and father-in-law is in category B. If he was living with his mother and her sister he would be in C, and if he was living with his father and his mother he would come into the category of households with two nuclei.

Lastly, in the classification in Table II-II-4, households with two or more nuclei are differentiated by means of a simple criterion : the first nucleus consists of the parents and their unmarried children, the second nucleus is made up of one of their children according to four possible situations, i.e. with or without a spouse and with or without children. These situations apart, all households with two nuclei are grouped together, as are all households with more than two nuclei.

This classification according to family composition is used to break down households with other variables : the number of people in the household as indicated in Table II-II-4, but also the age of the head of household combined with his marital status, which throws light on the composition of several categories from which hasty conclusions might otherwise be drawn and reveals certain situations which could very well have been overlooked. Thus, couples with or without unmarried children and forming a household with one family nucleus are distributed by age and marital status, as shown in Table II-II-4 bis.

Two other interesting categories are those of mothers and fathers living with other people. There the majority of the parents are married persons, whereas one would have expected single people cohabiting or divorced persons. Once again, it can be seen that a demographic description is legalistic ; if it sticks to the traditional analyses on marriage and divorce, it overlooks the largest proportion of situations, i.e. *de facto* or judicial separation in this instance.

In fact, none of these data are very satisfactory for our purposes as they do not give the position of individuals, but stop at households or at heads of households whose positions, as we have just seen, cannot be deduced from their situation in the household. In the absence of a « head of household situation in the household » combination, these criteria can hardly be used. However, one gets closer to a description of individuals with an interesting table which distributes persons in private households according to their relationship with the head of household (II-II-5). Unfortunately, children are not distinguished from grandchildren. From the point of

Table II-II-5

Distribution of persons belonging to private households by age group and relationship with the head of household

Absolute figures

Age group	Relationship with the head of household							
	Person living alone	Head of household	Husband, wife	Son, daughter, son-in-law, daughter-in-law and grandchild	Father, mother, father-in-law mother-in-law, grandmother, grandfather	Brother, sister, brother-in-law, sister-in-law	Other relatives and non-relatives	Total
0-14	—	—	5	2 230 374	—	1 125	34 770	2 266 274
15-19	2 613	3 105	19 817	680 996	—	3 175	12 654	722 360
20-24	17 732	120 749	187 553	374 812	—	4 249	13 255	718 350
25-29	19 354	219 413	226 553	95 738	—	2 595	10 014	573 667
30-34	18 905	255 688	248 666	51 083	—	2 728	10 536	587 606
35-39	18 845	283 471	267 410	40 874	87	3 710	10 533	624 930
40-44	22 124	299 619	271 878	33 340	399	5 499	10 854	643 713
45-49	29 146	308 676	267 185	23 835	1 330	6 785	11 597	648 554
50-54	27 943	214 198	176 795	9 191	2 562	6 438	8 904	446 031
55-59	50 467	250 750	199 292	6 370	7 364	9 676	10 903	534 822
60-64	74 769	233 258	176 739	3 020	16 072	11 557	10 927	526 342
65-69	95 714	192 392	133 900	897	28 356	10 843	9 971	472 073
70-74	96 321	129 497	79 571	155	36 149	8 152	7 967	357 812
75-79	73 034	71 015	35 947	52	35 075	5 170	5 828	226 121
80-84	41 261	31 965	11 063	26	27 517	2 613	4 171	118 616
85-89	15 556	10 598	2 167	14	15 122	893	2 224	46 574
90-94	3 199	2 155	210	5	4 548	178	704	10 999
95 and over	398	298	30	—	741	15	137	1 619
Total :	607 381	2 626 847	2 304 781	3 550 782	175 322	85 401	175 949	9 526 463

view of family typology, it may be noted that the family extends beyond the previous classifications since sibship ties are used (brother, sister, brother-in-law, sister-in-law). A similar table has been drawn up for collective households according to the type of institution. For children aged between 0 and 14, the distribution is as follows :

— Convent	1 048
— Old people's home	128
— Orphanage	1 483
— Worker('s) hostel	299
— *Other* (barracks, prisons, asylums, childrens homes, hospital establishments)	3 527

Table II-II-6

Family nuclei according to number of children, their type and the type of household of which they are part

Type of family nucleus and type of household of which it is part	Number of children										Total number	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 or more	Family nuclei	Children
COUPLE WITHOUT CHILDREN												
Household with one family nucleus												
Couple without children	786 093	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	786 093	—
Couple without children plus father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	32 465	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32 465	—
Couple without children plus father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family, plus other persons	1 629	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 629	—
Couple without children plus other persons, except for the father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of the family	27 340	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27 340	—
Total :	847 527	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	847 527	—
Households with two or more family nuclei												
Couple plus couple of married children	20 305	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20 305	—
Couple plus couple of married children plus grandchildren	22 696	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22 696	—
Couple plus son (-in-law) plus grandchildren	1 050	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 050	—
Couple plus daughter (-in-law) plus grandchildren	2 508	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 508	—
Other households with two family nuclei	8 601	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8 601	—
Other household with more than two family nuclei	1 226	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 226	—
Total :	56 386	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	56 386	—
Total, couple without children :	903 913	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	903 913	—
COUPLE WITH UNMARRIED CHILDREN												
Household with one family nucleus												
Couple with unmarried children	—	527 039	386 872	193 933	97 085	44 593	20 715	10 087	4 897	4 355	1 289 576	2 770 669
Couple with unmarried children plus father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	—	34 266	25 862	12 388	5 960	2 523	1 142	502	230	185	83 058	173 613
Couple with unmarried children plus father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family, plus other persons	—	1 094	814	428	198	86	47	15	14	11	2 707	5 834
Couple with unmarried children plus other persons, except for the father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	—	15 393	10 285	5 826	3 301	1 654	803	451	210	256	38 179	87 109
Total :	—	577 792	423 833	212 575	106 544	48 856	22 707	11 055	5 351	4 807	1 413 520	3 037 225
Household with two or more family nuclei												
Couple plus couple of married children	—	1 805	553	301	126	67	37	19	11	20	2 939	5 303
Couple plus couple of married children plus grandchildren	—	16 540	8 140	3 174	1 151	433	179	77	36	26	29 756	51 264
Couple plus son (-in-law), plus grandchildren	—	228	74	37	15	14	6	1	2	—	377	676
Couple plus daughter (-in-law), plus grandchildren	—	840	304	167	90	51	35	16	14	14	1 531	3 128
Other household with two family nuclei	—	5 034	2 814	1 259	592	259	127	48	28	19	10 180	19 617
Other household with more than two family nuclei	—	631	269	107	40	19	10	2	1	—	1 079	1 827
Total :	—	25 078	12 154	5 045	2 014	843	394	163	92	79	45 862	81 815
Total, couple with unmarried children :	—	602 870	435 987	217 620	108 558	49 699	23 101	11 218	5 443	4 886	1 459 382	3 119 040

Table II-II-6 *(cont'd)*

Type of family nucleus and type of household of which it is part	Number of children										Total number	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 et more	Family nuclei	Children
FATHER WITH UNMARRIED CHILDREN												
Household with one family nucleus												
Father with unmarried children	—	22 128	7 874	2 623	1 233	537	261	128	71	52	34 907	56 900
Father with unmarried children plus father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	—	1 189	460	155	72	32	17	7	4	4	1 940	3 245
Father with unmarried children plus father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family, plus other persons	—	192	92	35	18	13	2	1	2	1	356	663
Father with unmarried children plus other persons, except for the father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	—	5 582	2 464	1 180	577	277	176	74	34	30	10 394	19 875
Total :	—	29 091	10 890	3 993	1 900	859	456	210	111	87	47 597	80 683
Household with two or more family nuclei												
Couple plus son (-in-law), plus grandchildren	—	1 004	299	87	25	5	4	2	1	—	1 427	2 034
Other household with two family nuclei	—	3 371	833	282	109	48	22	7	2	1	4 675	6 765
Other household with more than two family nuclei	—	100	13	12	2	1	2	—	—	1	131	196
Total :	—	4 475	1 145	381	136	54	28	9	3	2	6 233	8 995
Total, father with unmarried children :	—	33 566	12 035	4 374	2 036	913	484	219	114	89	53 830	89 678
MOTHER WITH UNMARRIED CHILDREN												
Household with one family nucleus												
Mother with unmarried children	—	85 496	27 452	10 558	4 591	2 031	948	475	212	169	131 932	212 945
Mother with unmarried children plus father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	—	3 564	1 428	559	224	70	40	11	10	8	5 914	9 816
Mother with unmarried children plus father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family, plus other persons	—	447	209	97	40	12	13	8	1	3	830	1 546
Mother with unmarried children plus other persons, except for the father (-in-law) or mother (-in-law) of the head of family	—	12 659	5 068	2 511	1 373	680	313	187	86	91	22 968	43 991
Total :	—	102 166	34 157	13 725	6 228	2 793	1 314	681	309	271	161 644	268 298
Household with two or more family nuclei												
Couple plus daughter (-in-law), plus grandchildren	—	2 821	900	227	52	20	15	3	—	1	4 039	5 730
Other household with two family nuclei	—	6 267	1 452	527	199	103	45	22	12	8	8 635	12 661
Other household with more than two family nuclei	—	244	66	13	2	2	1	2	—	1	331	462
Total :	—	9 332	2 418	767	253	125	61	27	12	10	13 005	18 853
Total, mother with unmarried children :	—	111 498	36 575	14 492	6 481	2 918	1 375	708	321	281	174 649	287 151
All family nuclei :	903 913	747 934	484 597	236 486	117 075	53 530	24 960	12 145	5 878	5 256	2 591 774	3 495 869

All these figures together give the following global breakdown for children aged between 0 and 14 :

— with their parents or one of their parents	2 230 374
— with brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law	1 125
— with other people	34 770
— in institutions	6 485

This information is rather rough ; fortunately, there are more precise data where the census describes family nuclei instead of households, but linking these two categories is a somewhat laborious process.

4. ANALYSIS OF FAMILY NUCLEI

The simplest distinction is between the four main types of nucleus, whose proportions and numbers are indicated in respect of 1961 and 1970.

	1961		1970	
Couple without children	885 275	35.6 %	903 913	34.9 %
Couple with unmerried child/children	1 386 532	55.7 %	1 459 382	56.3 %
Father with unmarried child/children	47 053	1.9 %	53 830	2.15 %
Mother with unmarried child/children	169 981	6.8 %	174 649	6.7 %

From the point of view of the children, on the other hand, it is necessary to specify how many live with both their parents and how many with one only (this cannot be deduced from the preceding figures since the average sizes of families are not identical). This gives :

	1961	1970
Children living with both parents	89.4 %	89.2 %
Children living with their father	2.3 %	2.6 %
Children living with their mother	8.3 %	8.2 %

These family nuclei describe the everyday link between children and their parents, but this is only one of several links since all live in households. A more detailed classification of the situations will therefore take account of the position of family nuclei inside households. This is the reverse of the approach in the previous paragraph which went from households to family nuclei.

This second and closer description of children is of more concern to us. The most detailed breakdown is given in Table II-II-6, where a complex classification of the links between nuclei and households is combined with the number of children per nucleus.

An attempt will now be made to explain this classification as was done in the case of households. The section headings correspond to the four types of family nucleus.

The breakdown is first of all by type of household. For households with a single nucleus there is no problem : the same categories recur and there is a perfect match. On the other hand, things get more complicated in the case of households with more than one nucleus, since a given nucleus can occupy several positions within these households. The breakdown is therefore more detailed. If the two members of the couple live together, one considers their descendents according to the type of nucleus (4 cases) and one leaves aside the other situations as well as households with more than two nuclei, a description of which would require a large variety of categories.

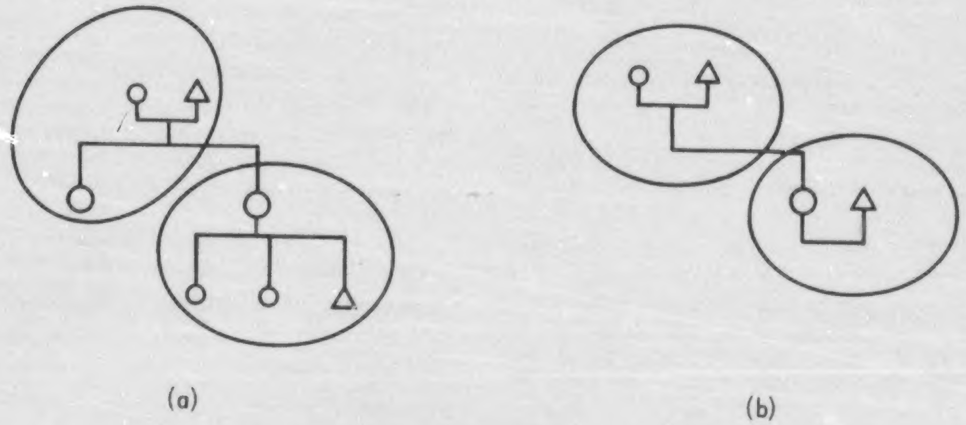
In the case of one-parent nuclei, on the other hand, one considers the situation vis-à-vis the progenitors by singling out cases where the two parents of the father or of the mother are present. Just as the classification of one-nucleus households is easy (there is biunique correspondence), so that of households with more than one nucleus seems tricky and requires some clarification : the same household comes under as many headings as there are nuclei. This can be verified by considering two given families in the manner of the ethnologist (See figure II-II-1 below).

In family (a), the progenitor's nucleus comes under the leading « couple with unmarried children », sub-heading « household with two or more family nuclei », category « couple plus daughter (in-law) plus grandchildren », in which it is counted as having one child. The second nucleus of family (a) comes under the heading « mother with unmarried children », sub-heading « multiple households », in the category « couple plus daughter (in-law) plus grandchildren ».

In family (b), *each* of the two couples without children is counted under the heading « couple plus couple of married children ».

The classification by household was identical to that by family nuclei for households with a single nucleus, but beyond this the two classifications are no longer mutually consistent ; one-person households disappear from the family study, and multiple households cut across the categories. The coincidence of the two methods, i.e. the one based on households and the one based on individuals, is

Figure II.II.1



(a)

(b)

Table II-II-7

Married couples with child(ren) according to degree of development of the family nucleus, type of activity of the spouses and number of children

Degree of development of the family nucleus and number of children	Husband and wife having a gainful occupation					Husband alone having a gainful occupation	Wife alone having a gainful occupation			Neither spouse having a gainful occupation	Grand total
	Wife assisting		Wife not assisting		Total						
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time			Full-time	Part-time	Total		
Child(ren) aged 0-2 only											
1 child	1 549	1 015	49 455	5 920	57 939	71 857	1 362	140	1 502	1 986	133 284
2 children	293	227	4 954	977	6 451	19 759	128	25	153	443	26 806
3 children	14	16	133	38	201	1 149	7	1	8	39	1 397
4 children or more	—	—	1	3	4	20	—	—	—	2	26
Total :	1 856	1 258	54 543	6 938	64 595	92 785	1 497	166	1 663	2 470	161 513
Eldest child aged 3-5 and the youngest 0-2											
2 children	705	572	10 627	2 383	14 287	36 224	182	20	202	568	51 281
3 children	179	241	1 881	647	2 948	14 666	51	15	66	293	17 973
4 children or more	24	33	194	81	332	2 872	15	2	17	87	3 308
Total :	908	846	12 702	3 111	17 567	53 762	248	37	285	948	72 562
Child(ren) aged 3-5 only											
1 child	1 216	746	25 998	3 498	31 458	35 027	438	43	481	736	67 702
2 children	291	222	3 558	892	4 963	11 210	82	7	89	176	16 438
3 children	17	8	113	51	189	726	5	—	5	13	933
4 children or more	—	1	4	—	5	22	—	—	—	—	27
Total :	1 524	977	29 673	4 441	36 615	46 985	525	50	575	925	85 100
Eldest child aged 6-14 and the youngest 0-2											
2 children	441	265	4 563	982	6 251	15 704	119	12	131	300	22 386
3 children	454	472	3 495	1 120	5 541	24 621	155	20	175	497	30 834
4 children or more	366	420	2 071	878	3 735	31 335	194	25	219	1 185	36 474
Total :	1 261	1 157	10 129	2 980	15 527	71 660	468	57	525	1 982	89 694
Eldest child aged 6-14 and the youngest 3-5											
2 children	1 117	880	10 449	2 815	15 261	38 508	296	37	333	763	54 865
3 children	615	596	4 193	1 586	6 990	28 832	189	32	221	619	36 662
4 children or more	292	396	1 839	813	3 340	21 758	182	38	220	823	26 141
Total :	2 024	1 872	16 481	5 214	25 591	89 098	667	107	774	2 205	117 668
Child(ren) aged 6-14 only											
1 child	3 540	2 150	42 578	7 662	55 930	85 134	1 624	275	1 899	4 279	147 242
2 children	2 131	1 787	16 915	4 877	25 710	63 875	821	132	953	1 869	92 407
3 children	559	615	3 804	1 560	6 538	23 724	253	43	296	693	31 251
4 children or more	212	202	1 064	489	1 967	10 670	109	19	128	404	13 169
Total :	6 442	4 754	64 361	14 588	90 145	183 403	2 807	469	3 276	7 245	284 069
Eldest chiid aged 15-20 and the youngest 0-2											
2 children	32	20	255	44	351	964	29	5	34	45	1 394
3 children	54	42	340	91	527	2 343	32	5	37	132	3 039
4 children or more	127	99	745	284	1 255	10 505	144	26	170	941	12 871
Total :	213	161	1 340	419	2 133	13 812	205	36	241	1 118	17 304
Eldest child aged 15-20 and the youngest 3-5											
2 children	85	47	592	151	875	2 592	39	11	50	133	3 650
3 children	138	97	816	253	1 304	5 333	88	15	103	320	7 060
4 children or more	188	210	1 244	498	2 140	16 199	218	46	264	1 456	20 059
Total :	411	354	2 652	902	4 319	24 124	345	72	417	1 909	30 769
Eldest child aged 15-20 and the youngest 6-14											
2 children	1 518	995	9 773	2 796	15 082	45 180	1 012	170	1 182	3 026	64 470
3 children	869	705	5 360	1 841	8 775	35 955	707	119	826	2 598	48 154
4 children or more	545	585	3 425	1 440	5 995	38 287	711	135	846	3 551	48 679
Total :	2 932	2 285	18 558	6 077	29 852	119 422	2 430	424	2 854	9 175	161 303

Table II-II-7 *(cont'd)*

Degree of development of the family nucleus and number of children	Husband and wife having a gainful occupation					Husband alone having a gainful occupation	Wife alone having a gainful occupation			Neither spouse having a gainful occupation	Grand total
	Wife assisting		Wife not assisting		Total						
	Full-time	Part-time	Full-time	Part-time			Full-time	Part-time	Total		
Child(ren) aged 15-20 only											
1 child	3 004	1 902	24 650	4 938	34 494	82 610	2 564	487	3 051	12 342	132 497
2 children	822	607	5 438	1 394	8 261	25 421	684	146	830	2 764	37 276
3 children	127	96	650	207	1 080	4 398	118	26	144	532	6 154
4 children or more	16	20	69	35	140	690	20	4	24	76	930
Total :	3 969	2 625	30 807	6 574	43 975	113 119	3 386	663	4 049	15 714	176 857
Eldest child aged 21 or over and the youngest 0-2											
2 children	3	1	30	2	36	102	3	—	3	16	157
3 children	4	2	26	6	38	176	3	1	4	22	240
4 children or more	9	9	69	22	109	986	17	3	20	197	1 312
Total :	16	12	125	30	183	1 264	23	4	27	235	1 709
Eldest child aged 21 or over and the youngest 3-5											
2 children	5	3	46	9	63	246	10	1	11	42	362
3 children	11	6	55	16	88	515	12	1	13	76	692
4 children or more	40	26	162	54	282	2 855	52	13	65	488	3 690
Total :	56	35	263	79	433	3 616	74	15	89	606	4 744
Eldest child aged 21 or over and the youngest 6-14											
2 children	172	120	895	273	1 460	6 605	160	37	197	882	9 144
3 children	227	192	1 061	333	1 813	10 060	201	55	256	1 351	13 480
4 children or more	304	287	1 252	501	2 344	20 771	386	96	482	3 347	26 944
Total :	703	599	3 208	1 107	5 617	37 436	747	188	935	5 580	49 568
Eldest child aged 21 or over and the youngest 15-20											
2 children	727	567	3 310	877	5 481	24 587	602	125	727	4 671	35 466
3 children	292	233	1 055	373	1 953	11 816	259	66	325	2 439	16 533
4 children or more	116	124	366	147	753	6 185	112	29	141	1 475	8 554
Total :	1 135	924	4 731	1 397	8 187	42 588	973	220	1 193	8 585	60 553
Child(en) aged 21 or over only											
1 child	2 066	1 372	8 911	1 955	14 304	58 941	2 101	477	2 578	46 322	122 145
2 children	364	250	956	260	1 830	10 124	261	68	329	7 602	19 885
3 children	54	31	93	33	211	1 503	34	7	41	1 463	3 218
4 children or more	16	5	8	3	32	288	5	1	6	395	721
Total :	2 500	1 658	9 968	2 251	16 377	70 856	2 401	553	2 954	55 782	145 969
Total											
1 child	11 375	7 185	151 592	23 973	194 125	333 569	8 089	1 422	9 511	65 665	602 870
2 children	8 706	6 563	72 361	18 732	106 362	301 101	4 428	796	5 224	23 300	435 987
3 children	3 614	3 352	23 075	8 155	38 196	165 817	2 114	406	2 520	11 087	217 620
4 children or more	2 255	2 417	12 513	5 248	22 433	163 443	2 165	437	2 602	14 427	202 905
Grand total :	25 950	19 517	259 541	56 108	361 116	963 930	16 796	3 061	19 857	114 479	1 459 382

sufficiently uncertain for the totals not to tally exactly :

2 470 288	nuclei for households with one nucleus, but
2 470 291	households of this kind.

Even more strange is the *uneven* number of nuclei corresponding to the type (b) family just discussed. Since each of its nuclei is counted twice, the total number must be even — especially since this category added to the category « couple plus one married child plus couple of married children » does in fact give the number of multiple households with « couple plus couple of married children » in Table II-II-4. In comparing Tables II-II-4 and II-II-6, it should also be noted that the presence or absence of « other persons » is no longer taken into account in the classification of family nuclei.

The reason for labouring all these points somewhat is to make it quite clear how extraordinarily difficult it is to describe the family, and particularly its linkage with the household. However, skirting this problem and returning to our central concern — the description of childhood — it must be said that these family tables have serious shortcomings despite the numerous possibilities they provide (Table II-II-6 gives the distribution of children, which makes it possible to assess the point of view of the children). The concept of children is indeed too broad ; it corresponds to a situation, to the absence of links with either a spouse or with descendants. Thus, a child can be very old as long as it refuses these links and still has one of its parents. This is no good for our purpose. Ideally one should have the previous tables for children aged under 5 and under 10. The Belgian census does not provide them, but it does offer others which go some way towards meeting this requirement.

5. AGE OF CHILDREN

Table II-II-7 published by the census combines two original characteristics — activity of the members of the family nucleus and the age-group of their children — by means of an ingenious principle ; the number of children is given and also the age-group in which they fall, from the eldest to the youngest, using four age divisions — 3, 6, 15 and 21 — and all the possible combinations.

There are several ways of reading this table ; suffice it here to make a couple of observations. In 82 per cent of family nuclei with children the eldest is aged under 15, and in 90 per cent he or she is under 21. This should allay some of the fears expressed about the age of children. In this connexion, the structure of households with only one parent is quite different. Thus, in 55 per cent of family nuclei with just the mother there is a child aged over 21, and in 74 per cent of cases one child has reached the age of 15. In family nuclei with just the father, the proportions are 50 and 72 per cent.

The second observation concerns female employment. So much has been written about the competition between family and work that we have somewhat neglected this aspect of childhood. These figures make good this oversight and clearly illustrate the classic tendencies : the bigger the family the less frequently the mother has an outside job, the younger the mother the more frequently she works and combines this with family responsabilities (children who are minors). This is the generation effect seen everywhere. The same tables are available for one-parent family nuclei where the proportion of mothers who work is larger. However, the figures here must be interpreted with greater caution because, as has been observed, these family nuclei are generally part of large households, whereas family nuclei built around a couple almost always form a complete household.

The Belgian census does not provide any other tables concerning childhood ; all we have are regional breakdowns analogous to the national figures given here.

At all events, the few tables just considered illustrate our argument, namely, the difficulty of describing the family, and also the more numerous possibilities inherent in a subject which is still not properly demarcated. Just as the vast, standardized tables on fertility by birth order and by age were of little assistance for a statistical illustration of childhood, so these few pointers have indicated several interesting features and suggested further tables.

Chapter III

FAMILY AND CHILDREN IN NORWAY

In 1975 the Norwegian Statistical Office published Part Four of the 1970 census which sets out the data collected on families and households. It contains tables similar to those analysed in the Belgian census, although there are significant differences in the nomenclature and the combinations of variables selected.

1. THE CONCEPTS OF « HOUSEHOLD » AND « FAMILY »

In 1960 the concept of the household was based on the criterion of a « main meal » taken together. This « household-home » concept was abandoned completely in 1970 in favour of a definition based on the « household-housing unit », so the household now corresponds to a housing unit comprising persons who have their usual residence in that unit.

The housing unit is itself defined in spatial terms : « a set of rooms or single room, constructed or reconstructed for one or more persons who share some parts of the premises and gain access to the rooms without passing through another housing unit ».

This new definition has a considerable statistical advantage in a census of persons and dwellings insofar as it establishes the equivalence :

number of housing units = number of households.

It does however have the drawback of precluding comparisons with earlier censuses and also of establishing three main types of household where there were only two before, since households of persons without a permanent residence are now added to private and institutional households. This is the consequence of too close an identification of the household with the housing unit.

As far as the family is concerned, the 1960 definitions, which are fairly conventional, still hold good.

First, a distinction is made between single persons and family nuclei, whilst the nuclei themselves are classified into four customary categories :

- married couple without unmarried children living together ;
- married couple with unmarried children living together ;
- father with unmarried children living together ;
- mother with unmarried children living together.

The linking of families with households — always a difficult operation — is done in a number of stages. The households are first broken down according to the number of families of which they are composed : one, two, three or more. In cases where there is more than one family, they are ranked as primary and secondary families. The primary family is that which includes the owner or tenant of the housing unit. The secondary families are linked to this primary family if at least one of the members is related to the owner/tenant or his spouse ; otherwise the secondary families are regarded as separate.

Lastly, the specific criterion of ownership or tenancy is also used to define the head of household.

At the outset, therefore, one finds that the Norwegian concepts differ in a number of ways from those used in Belgium and these are reflected in the types of table employed :

- there are three types of household instead of two ;
- single persons form a family ;
- the different families in a household are ranked and linked together ;
- the head of household is defined on legal criteria instead of being designated as such by those concerned.

2. GENERAL FINDINGS

Table II-III-1 summarises the characteristics of households and families with a breakdown by the above mentioned categories and by size. The average size of families is seen to diminish where there are several families per household, which simply means that many families in multiple households consist of single persons and not family nuclei.

It will also be seen that family nuclei contain fewer children where only one parent is present (1.5 children instead of 2.1). Lastly, only a small proportion of people figure under the headings « institutional household » and « without a permanent residence » (about 1.5 per cent). In any case, households without a permanent residence do not include children, so we are not concerned with them here.

3. COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

Table II-III-2 gives a breakdown of households by size and composition. The classification of one-family households corresponds exactly to the breakdown of families by type. This is an easy case in which everything coincides : housing unit, family nucleus and household.

Matters become more complicated with two-family households because there can be no question of using all the possible categories :

5 + 10 = 15 possible combinations such as :

- single person + single person,
- single person + the 4 types of family nuclei,
- 2 couples without children,
- 1 couple without children + the other types of family nuclei,
- 2 couples with children,
- 1 couple with children + the 2 types of one-parent family nuclei,
- 2 couples with mother only,
- 2 couples with father only,
- 1 couple with mother only and a couple with father only.

These 15 combinations can then be further broken down by constituent family relationships : presence of siblings, parents or grandparents, first cousins or distant cousins.

This would soon produce a hundred or so different situations, which is far too many to describe only 13.3 per cent of the population.

All categories are accordingly grouped according to two major criteria : a family relationship or non-relationship and differentiation between family nuclei and single-person families. These two criteria are crossed to give a typology under six headings :

2 single-person families	related not related
a single-person family and a family nucleus	related not related
2 family nuclei	related not related

Insofar as the relationship is not defined exactly (it probably has to be in direct line), this classification does not coincide with that proposed in the Belgian census : no account was taken of relationships between single persons, although the relationship of single persons living with a family nucleus was given, but only in the case of parents.

Table II-III-1

Main figures for households and families
The whole country

Type of household/ Size of household/ Type de family/ Size of family/	Households	Families	Persons
Private household, total	1 296 760	1 477 850	3 818 591
Type of household			
Household with 1 family	1 140 992	1 140 992	3 215 331
Household with 2 families	135 506	271 012	508 358
Household with 3 families and more	20 262	65 846	94 902
Size of household			
1 person	274 081	274 081	274 081
2 persons	328 905	372 339	657 810
3 persons	243 491	284 914	730 473
4 persons	231 487	264 161	925 948
5 persons	132 269	160 133	661 345
6 persons	55 194	72 959	331 164
7 persons	19 935	29 464	139 545
8 persons and more	11 398	19 799	98 225
Type of family			
Single person		482 039	482 039
Married couple without unmarried children		283 299	566 598
Married couple with unmarried children		623 567	2 548 211
Mother with unmarried children		74 864	186 946
Father with unmarried children		14 081	34 797
Size of family			
1 person		482 039	482 039
2 persons		342 595	685 190
3 persons		242 543	727 629
4 persons		226 027	904 108
5 persons		119 303	596 515
6 persons		44 693	268 158
7 persons and more		20 650	154 952
Institutional household, total :	1 767	41 144	42 063
Children's home	117	1 136	1 144
Old people's home, nursing home	1 383	36 570	37 311
Lodging home, etc.	229	2 912	3 082
Other institutional household	38	526	526
Size of household			
1-9 persons	464	2 429	2 490
10-24 persons	675	11 024	11 268
25-49 persons	468	15 574	15 947
50-99 persons	133	8 664	8 841
100-199 persons	26	3 235	3 297
200-299 persons	1	218	220
Type of family			
Single person		40 299	40 299
Married couple without unmarried children		760	1 520
Other type of family		85	244
Size of family			
1 person		40 299	40 299
2 persons		802	1 604
3 persons and more		43	160
Without a permanent residence	13 479	13 479	13 479

The Norwegian classification is even terser where households with more than two families are concerned, since the relationship criterion is no longer applied and only three categories for single persons and nuclei remain, a compression warranted by the small number of people involved (2.5 per cent) :

Table II-III-2

Private households by size of household, and type of household

Number, percentages and averages

Type of household	Private households		Number of persons in the private household						Persons	
	Total	%	1	2	3	4	5	6 and more	Per household	Per family
The whole country	1 296 760	100	274 081	328 905	243 491	231 487	132 269	86 527	2.9	2.6
Household with 1 family	1 140 992	88	274 081	285 494	209 285	204 616	108 713	58 803	2.8	2.8
Single person	274 081	21	274 081	—	—	—	—	—	1.0	1.0
Married couple without unmarried children	246 388	19	—	246 388	—	—	—	—	2.0	2.0
Married couple with unmarried children	559 232	43	—	—	194 563	199 492	107 117	58 060	4.1	4.1
Mother with unmarried children	50 881	4	—	32 123	12 353	4 384	1 372	649	2.6	2.6
Father with unmarried children	10 410	1	—	6 983	2 369	740	224	94	2.5	2.5
Household with 2 families	135 506	10	—	43 411	26 987	22 534	20 457	22 117	3.8	1.9
2 single persons	43 411	3	—	43 411	—	—	—	—	2.0	1.0
Related	24 843	2	—	24 843	—	—	—	—	2.0	1.0
Not related	18 568	1	—	18 568	—	—	—	—	2.0	1.0
Single person and family nucleus	70 117	5	—	—	26 987	17 443	13 824	11 863	4.3	2.1
Related	49 747	4	—	—	18 754	12 436	9 764	8 793	4.3	2.1
Not related	20 370	1	—	—	8 233	5 007	4 060	3 070	4.2	2.1
2 family nuclei	21 978	2	—	—	—	5 091	6 633	10 254	5.6	2.8
Related	20 901	2	—	—	—	4 818	6 358	9 725	5.6	2.8
Not related	1 077	0	—	—	—	273	275	529	5.7	2.9
Household with 3 families and more	20 262	2	—	—	7 219	4 337	3 099	5 607	4.7	1.4
Single persons only	9 170	1	—	—	7 219	1 456	361	134	3.3	1.0
Single person(s) and family nucleus(-ei)	10 661	1	—	—	—	2 881	2 738	5 042	5.8	1.8
Family nuclei only	431	0	—	—	—	—	—	431	8.5	2.8

- — single persons only,
- — family nuclei only,
- — a combination of these two cases.

These figures give some idea of the general structure of the family in Norway although, as always, they reflect the viewpoint of the State in that households are counted but not children. Moreover, the ages of the children are not specified at all, and other classifications are required if some idea of the child's family environment is to be obtained.

An initial indication is given in two tables. Table II-III-3 shows individuals by age group and by the

Table II-III-3

Persons by type of household and age

Age	Private household								Persons in inst. househ.	Persons without a perm. residence
	Persons Total	Persons in household with :								
		One family	Two families			Three families and more				
			Total	Primary family	Secondary family	Total	Primary family	Secondary family		
The whole country Total	3 818 591	3 215 331	508 358	323 383	184 975	94 902	40 541	54 361	42 063	13 479
Under 16 years	998 233	883 464	100 445	68 798	31 647	14 324	7 063	7 261	2 031	755
16-19 years	238 731	198 578	34 174	22 220	11 954	5 979	2 311	3 668	1 169	418
20-24 years	309 002	243 027	54 560	22 404	32 156	11 415	2 719	8 696	1 490	1 527
25-29 years	256 729	217 197	32 924	15 076	17 848	6 608	1 907	4 701	918	1 365
30-39 years	397 550	352 267	38 754	25 070	13 684	6 529	2 831	3 698	1 281	1 820
40-49 years	464 761	399 140	56 348	44 184	12 164	9 273	5 140	4 133	1 795	2 028
50-59 years	474 794	389 349	71 046	56 747	14 299	13 899	7 788	6 111	2 624	2 194
60-69 years	377 176	304 487	59 042	40 934	18 108	13 647	6 395	7 252	4 345	1 839
70-79 years	229 865	179 298	41 335	21 443	19 892	9 232	3 408	5 824	10 400	1 136
80 and over	71 750	48 024	19 730	6 507	13 223	3 996	979	3 017	16 010	397

Table II-III-4

Breakdown of individuals according to relationship with head of household

	Total Number	Head of Household	Spouse	Child	Other relatives	Other persons
Men	1 899 039	1 011 296	14 844	777 320	66 885	28 694
Women	1 919 552	285 464	869 915	645 126	85 235	33 812
Total	3 818 591	1 296 760	884 759	1 422 446	152 120	62 506

type of household in which they live. Unfortunately, the table is vague on the points which interest us : all children are classified in an age group that is too broad, i.e. 0 to 16 years ; the breakdown of households is not taken far enough, since only primary and secondary families are differentiated within multiple households, whereas it would have been desirable to know the type of family nucleus and type of household in which the child lives. These rough data show, however, that only a small proportion of children live outside private households (0.2 per cent) and that most of them are in family units which form households on their own (88.5 per cent of children under 16 years old).

Table II-III-4 offers another way of observing children in terms of their relationship to the head of household but again is not perfect : for instance, if the grandson of a head of household lives with him, he is not counted as a child but figures under « other relatives ».

4. THE FAMILY

Almost as a last resort, instead of breaking down the household by families, the reverse approach is adopted and the five types of family are distributed among the different types of household (Table II-III-5). The household family linkage is produced through cross-combining the types instead of nesting them.

The classification adopted for households is again that based on relationship and the presence of single persons. In the case of families, the conventional five types are differentiated.

Table II-III-5 shows quite clearly that incomplete

Table II-III-5

Families and persons in private households by type of family and type of household

Number and percentages

Type of household	Type of family						Percentages					
	Total	Single person	Married couple		Mother with unmarried children	Father with unmarried children	All types of family	Single person	Married couple		Mother with unmarried children	Father with unmarried children
			Without unmarried children	With unmarried children					Without unmarried children	With unmarried children		
The whole country	1 477 850	482 039	283 299	623 567	74 864	14 081	100	100	100	100	100	100
Household with 1 family	1 140 992	274 081	246 388	559 232	50 881	10 410	78	57	87	90	68	74
Household with 2 families	271 012	156 939	32 646	57 715	20 519	3 193	18	33	12	9	27	23
2 single persons	86 822	86 822	—	—	—	—	6	18	—	—	—	—
Related	49 686	49 686	—	—	—	—	3	10	—	—	—	—
Not related	37 136	37 136	—	—	—	—	3	8	—	—	—	—
Single person and family nucleus	140 234	70 117	19 662	38 979	9 655	1 821	9	15	7	6	13	13
Related	99 494	49 747	14 573	29 105	5 143	926	6	11	5	5	7	7
Not related	40 740	20 370	5 089	9 874	4 512	895	3	4	2	1	6	6
2 family nuclei	43 956	—	12 984	18 736	10 864	1 372	3	—	5	3	14	10
Related	41 802	—	12 505	17 968	10 240	1 089	3	—	5	3	14	8
Not related	2 154	—	479	768	624	283	0	—	0	0	0	2
Household with 3 families and more	65 846	51 019	4 265	6 620	3 464	478	4	10	1	1	5	3
Single persons only	30 153	30 153	—	—	—	—	2	6	—	—	—	—
Single person(s) and family nucleus(-ei)	34 387	20 866	3 984	6 121	2 997	419	2	4	1	1	4	3
Family nuclei only	1 306	—	281	499	467	59	0	—	0	0	1	0

families (in which one parent is absent) are much more often to be found living in a larger household : 68 per cent of mothers alone with children and 74 per cent of fathers alone with children form one-family households, whereas this is the case with 90 per cent of couples with children.

It is unfortunate that the statistics on households with more than two nuclei take no account of family relationships ; if they did it would become even clearer that most multi-family households are in fact extended families.

In the case of two-family households (including at least one nucleus) the proportion of related families actually amounts to 78 per cent. Even single persons who get together to form a household usually have a family relationship (67 per cent of pairs of single persons). The same tables have been drawn up for densely and for sparsely populated areas, but are not reproduced here as they confirm the preceding observation that family ties are slightly looser in conurbations (as the following few data show) but the tendencies are the same (Table II-III-6).

Table II-III-6

Proportion of related families in two-family households by type of family and habitat

	Densely populated areas	Sparsely populated areas
Mother with children forming household	71 %	63 %
Father with children forming household	77 %	70 %
Couple with children forming household	92 %	85 %
Proportion of related persons in households formed by pairs of single persons	70 %	86 %
Proportion of related persons in other two-family households	49 %	73 %

A breakdown similar to that given in these tables has been made for individuals themselves and shows very little change from the percentages indicated above. It would be very interesting to have such a breakdown for individuals of given ages and for children.

All these tables indicate that Norwegian society retains a fairly marked family character. When the family units or nuclei are weakened, they find a place in the extended family which always seems to be there as a background.

A comparison between towns and rural areas indicates that this tendency is diminishing, but it is too soon to speak of the decline of the extended family because such comparisons are influenced by other factors such as income, housing and age groups.

Although they help towards an understanding of the family, these tables do not always provide observations centred on childhood. The only one among all those published that tries to do this is the last, Table II-III-7. This offers a fairly detailed classification of families by taking account of the age of children, type of family nucleus and number of children in each age group.

Three major age groups are used : 0-6 years ; 7-15 years and 16 years and over.

The Belgian census contained a similar but not identical table. It did not combine the household of origin with the family nucleus, but it did give additional information on the mother's activity and a much more detailed classification by age (five groups, including under three year-olds). On the other hand, there was no indication of how many children were in each age group, since only the total size of the family was given.

It is not easy to draw any quick conclusion from Table II-III-7, and it may be helpful to compare a few of the data it contains. Let us take, for example, one-child families. The breakdown of these by age and family type is as follows :

Child's age	Father and Mother	Mother only	Father only
0- 6 years	77 455	14 423	349
7-15 years	42 060	6 142	983
16 years and over	103 164	31 884	8 167

The children in incomplete family nuclei therefore tend to be older (3.5 per cent of those children with a father only are under 6 years old, as compared with 34 per cent of children with both parents). However, a large percentage of mothers of young children do not live with a husband, which reflects the recent increase in out-of-wedlock births. In this regard, the distribution for two-child families gives quite a different picture : the mother either marries after the birth of the first child or generally decides against having another child :

Children's ages	Father and mother	Mother only	Father only
Both under 7 years	61 037	1 981	100
One under 7 years and one under 15 years	35 529	1 567	122
Both between 7 and 16 years	40 069	2 507	374
One between 7 and 16 years and one over 16	43 250	3 063	558

The steady increase in the number of separated fathers and mothers here reflects the progressive break-up of marriages as a result of divorce or the death of one partner.

Table II-III-7*a*

Families in private households by number of children in the various age groups and type of family

Type of family, number of children 0-6 years and number of unmarried children 7-15 years in the family	Families total	Number of unmarried children 16 years and over in the family					
		0	1	2	3	4	5 and more
The whole country							
Total	1 477 850	1 152 868	229 601	77 804	14 745	2 362	470
0 child 0-6 years	1 173 537	874 016	211 867	71 416	13 581	2 212	445
0 child 7-15 years	965 467	765 338	143 215	46 610	8 672	1 355	277
1 child 7-15 years	117 512	49 185	46 871	17 556	3 312	503	85
2 children 7-15 years	67 062	42 950	17 056	5 631	1 143	236	46
3 children 7-15 years	19 233	13 694	3 808	1 288	332	86	25
4 children 7-15 years	3 588	2 430	774	261	92	23	8
5 children and more	675	419	143	70	30	9	4
1 child 0-6 years	188 083	166 313	15 169	5 478	982	124	17
0 child 7-15 years	93 563	89 575	2 386	1 346	233	19	4
1 child 7-15 years	46 173	37 218	6 329	2 235	354	35	2
2 children 7-15 years	34 384	28 355	4 494	1 260	235	36	4
3 children 7-15 years	11 123	9 049	1 476	482	97	16	3
4 children 7-15 years	2 370	1 794	393	120	46	14	3
5 children and more	470	322	91	35	17	4	1
2 children 0-6 years	94 360	91 190	2 221	782	149	15	3
0 child 7-15 years	63 534	63 118	279	116	20	1	—
1 child 7-15 years	17 944	16 936	719	248	38	3	—
2 children 7-15 years	8 804	7 840	684	232	45	3	—
3 children 7-15 years	2 991	2 491	359	113	23	5	—
4 children 7-15 years	852	653	125	54	16	2	2
5 children and more	235	152	55	19	7	1	1
3 children 0-6 years	19 309	18 866	290	112	27	10	4
0 child 7-15 years	13 796	13 747	41	7	—	1	—
1 child 7-15 years	3 317	3 238	54	21	3	1	—
2 children 7-15 years	1 299	1 183	87	23	4	1	1
3 children 7-15 years	562	460	54	34	12	2	—
4 children 7-15 years	226	172	34	15	2	2	1
5 children and more	109	66	20	12	6	3	2
4 children 0-6 years	2 335	2 267	48	14	4	1	1
0 child 7-15 years	1 580	1 572	7	1	—	—	—
1 child 7-15 years	386	379	6	1	—	—	—
2 children 7-15 years	173	160	10	2	1	—	—
3 children 7-15 years	106	93	8	3	2	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	54	44	8	1	1	—	—
5 children and more	36	19	9	6	—	1	1
5 children 0-6 years	226	216	6	2	2	—	—
0 child 7-15 years	133	132	1	—	—	—	—
1 child 7-15 years	47	46	1	—	—	—	—
2 children 7-15 years	18	16	2	—	—	—	—
3 children 7-15 years	9	8	1	—	—	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	6	6	—	—	—	—	—
5 children and more	13	8	1	2	2	—	—
Single person	482 039	482 039	—	—	—	—	—
Married couple without unmarried children	283 299	283 299	—	—	—	—	—
Married couple with unmarried children, total	623 567	358 447	183 936	66 332	12 523	1 971	358
0 child 0-6 years	338 360	97 756	166 881	60 166	11 394	1 829	334
0 child 7-15 years	148 486	—	103 164	37 173	6 913	1 054	182
1 child 7-15 years	105 093	42 060	43 250	16 230	3 017	459	77
2 children 7-15 years	62 651	40 069	16 037	5 252	1 043	209	41
3 children 7-15 years	18 116	12 925	3 588	1 198	303	80	22
4 children 7-15 years	3 379	2 308	709	245	88	21	8
5 children and more	635	394	133	68	30	6	4
1 child 0-6 years	172 299	151 325	14 609	5 281	951	117	16
0 child 7-15 years	81 214	77 455	2 231	1 281	225	18	4
1 child 7-15 years	44 183	35 529	6 111	2 165	345	31	2
2 children 7-15 years	33 351	27 497	4 368	1 222	227	34	3
3 children 7-15 years	10 814	8 804	1 430	467	94	16	3
4 children 7-15 years	2 284	1 732	379	112	44	14	3
5 children and more	453	308	90	34	16	4	1

Table II-III-7b

Families in private households by number of children in the various age groups and type of family

Area of residence, type of family, number of children 0-6 years and number of unmarried children 7-15 years in the family	Families total	Number of unmarried children 16 years and over in the family: 0	1	2	3	4	5 and more
2 children 0-6 years	91 495	88 451	2 120	761	145	15	3
0 child 7-15 years	61 412	61 037	245	111	18	1	—
1 child 7-15 years	17 506	16 528	699	238	38	3	—
2 children 7-15 years	8 602	7 668	660	228	43	3	—
3 children 7-15 years	2 919	2 434	345	112	23	5	—
4 children 7-15 years	826	634	119	53	16	2	2
5 children and more	230	150	52	19	7	1	1
The whole country *(cont'd)*							
Married couple with unmarried children *(cont'd)*							
3 children 0-6 years	18 902	18 476	276	110	27	9	4
0 child 7-15 years	13 506	13 465	33	7	—	1	—
1 child 7-15 years	3 243	3 166	53	20	3	1	—
2 children 7-15 years	1 268	1 157	83	22	4	1	1
3 children 7-15 years	555	454	53	34	12	2	—
4 children 7-15 years	224	170	34	15	2	2	1
5 children and more	106	64	20	12	6	2	2
4 children 0-6 years	2 289	2 226	45	12	4	1	1
0 child 7-15 years	1 550	1 544	5	1	—	—	—
1 child 7-15 years	372	367	5	—	—	—	—
2 children 7-15 years	172	159	10	2	1	—	—
3 children 7-15 years	106	93	8	3	2	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	54	44	8	1	1	—	—
5 children and more	35	19	9	5	—	1	1
5 children 0-6 years	222	213	5	2	2	—	—
0 child 7-15 years	130	130	—	—	—	—	—
1 child 7-15 years	46	45	1	—	—	—	—
2 children 7-15 years	18	16	2	—	—	—	—
3 children 7-15 years	9	8	1	—	—	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	6	6	—	—	—	—	—
5 children and more	13	8	1	2	2	—	—
Mother with unmarried children, total	74 864	26 881	36 627	9 200	1 749	321	86
0 child 0-6 years	56 630	9 449	36 053	9 011	1 719	313	85
0 child 7-15 years	41 054	—	31 884	7 490	1 365	243	72
1 child 7-15 years	10 586	6 142	3 063	1 104	237	33	7
2 children 7-15 years	3 795	2 507	853	320	85	26	4
3 children 7-15 years	980	675	190	79	28	6	2
4 children 7-15 years	178	101	55	16	4	2	—
5 children and more	37	24	8	2	—	3	—
1 child 0-6 years	15 107	14 423	480	169	27	7	1
0 child 7-15 years	11 955	11 771	117	58	8	1	—
1 child 7-15 years	1 835	1 567	198	57	9	4	—
2 children 7-15 years	941	789	111	32	6	2	1
3 children 7-15 years	282	224	41	15	2	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	79	59	12	6	2	—	—
5 children and more	15	13	1	1	—	—	—
2 children 0-6 years	2 697	2 592	85	17	3	—	—
0 child 7-15 years	2 011	1 981	25	4	1	—	—
1 child 7-15 years	411	388	16	7	—	—	—
2 children 7-15 years	185	156	23	4	2	—	—
3 children 7-15 years	62	48	13	1	—	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	24	17	6	1	—	—	—
5 children and more	4	2	2	—	—	—	—
3 children 0-6 years	384	373	8	2	—	1	—
0 child 7-15 years	275	271	4	—	—	—	—
1 child 7-15 years	70	69	—	1	—	—	—
2 children 7-15 years	28	24	3	1	—	—	—
3 children 7-15 years	6	5	1	—	—	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
5 children an more	3	2	—	—	—	1	—

Table II-III-7c

Families in private households by number of children in the various age groups and type of family

Type of family, number of children 0-6 years and number of unmarried children 7-15 years in the family	Families total	Number of unmarried children 16 years and over in the family					
		0	1	2	3	4	5 and more
Mother with unmarried children *(cont'd)*							
4 children 0-6 years	43	41	1	1	—	—	—
0 child 7-15 years	29	28	1	—	—	—	—
1 child 7-15 years	13	12	—	1	—	—	—
2 children 7-15 years	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
3 children 7-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 children and more	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 children 0-6 years	3	3	—	—	—	—	—
0 child 7-15 years	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
1 child 7-15 years	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
2 children 7-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 children 7-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 children and more	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
The whole country *(cont'd)*							
Father with unmarried children, total	14 081	2 202	9 038	2 272	473	70	26
0 child 0-6 years	13 209	1 473	8 933	2 239	468	70	26
0 child 7-15 years	10 589	—	8 167	1 947	394	58	23
1 child 7-15 years	1 833	983	558	222	58	11	1
2 children 7-15 years	616	374	166	59	15	1	1
3 children 7-15 years	137	94	30	11	1	—	1
4 children 7-15 years	31	21	10	—	—	—	—
5 children and more	3	1	2	—	—	—	—
1 child 0-6 years	677	565	80	28	4	—	—
0 child 7-15 years	394	349	38	7	—	—	—
1 child 7-15 years	155	122	20	13	—	—	—
2 children 7-15 years	92	69	15	6	2	—	—
3 children 7-15 years	27	21	5	—	1	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	7	3	2	2	—	—	
5 children and more	2	1	—	—	1	—	—
2 children 0-6 years	168	147	16	4	1	—	—
0 child 7-15 years	111	100	9	1	1	—	—
1 child 7-15 years	27	20	4	3	—	—	—
2 children 7-15 years	17	16	1	—	—	—	—
3 children 7-15 years	10	9	1	—	—	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
5 children and more	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
3 children 0-6 years	23	17	6	—	—	—	—
0 child 7-15 years	15	11	4	—	—	—	—
1 child 7-15 years	4	3	1	—	—	—	—
2 children 7-15 years	3	2	1	—	—	—	—
3 children 7-15 years	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 children and more	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 children 0-6 years	3	—	2	1	—	—	—
0 child 7-15 years	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
1 child 7-15 years	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
2 children 7-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 children 7-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 children and more	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
5 children 0-6 years	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
0 child 7-15 years	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
1 child 7-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 children 7-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 children 7-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 children 7-15 years	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 children and more	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

The figures are still modest, however, since at least 90 per cent of children live in complete family nuclei. This is conformed by an analysis of four-child families according to age of the children :

Breakdown of children by age group			1 Two-parent families	2 Fatherless families	Proportion of fatherless families
0-6	7-15	16 and over			
4	0	0	1 544	28	0.018
3	1	0	3 166	69	0.021
2	2	0	7 668	156	0.021
2	1	1	699	16	0.022
1	3	0	8 804	224	0.025
1	2	1	4 368	111	0.025
1	1	2	2 165	57	0.026
	4	0	2 308	101	0.042
	3	1	3 588	190	0.050
	2	2	5 252	320	0.057
	1	3	3 017	237	0.073
	0	4	1 054	243	0.187
Other variants			369	16	—

Again, from the viewpoint of the children, Table II-III-7 can be used to calculate how many children under 7 years old are the only child, the eldest child or the youngest in a family, according to the different family nuclei :

	Family with father and mother	Family with mother only	Family with father only
Only child	77 455	11 771	349
Eldest child	76 176	2 282	111
Youngest child	207 852	6 465	522
Intermediate child	61 078	1 332	112

The differences in structure are considerable : half the children under 7 years old are the youngest in complete families, but less than one-third are the youngest in one-parent families. Similarly, one-sixth of the children in two-parent families are only children as compared with more than half in one-parent families. Other insights are possible, given the wealth of material in the tables published, but it is not our intention to exhaust them here.

To sum up, it may be said that the Norwegian data are working towards the same aim as the Belgian data but in a different way. First, the description of the family is not the same : in some respects it is more detailed and in others less precise. Secondly, the tables selected do not correspond to those of the Belgian census. This lack of uniformity is a great advantage because various aspects of childhood are highlighted in turn. Intercountry comparisons are not the main objective : it is better to try to determine the pattern of families within households and produce a coherent description before seeking to establish standard nomenclatures.

Chapter IV

HOUSEHOLDS AND DWELLINGS IN IRELAND

The descriptions of households and families in the 1961 and 1966 censuses in Ireland are simpler than those given in the countries just reviewed. Ireland is one of the very few countries in which surveys still couple households with housing units, as was the case in several countries a few decades ago. It is pertinent therefore to give some attention to this subject.

1. DEFINITIONS

Ireland uses the international definitions. For the household, it has adopted the UN definition we have already quoted. One consequence of using the housekeeping unit is that a dwelling may be split up into several households.

For the purpose of classifying types of household, Ireland has adopted the recommendation of the Conference of European Statisticians. Since 1961 three types of « family unit » have been differentiated and these are comparable to family nuclei except that the two types of one-parent family have been combined. Households with one family unit are then differentiated according to type and whether or not « other persons » are present, i.e. six categories so far.

All households of or including two family units are grouped into a single category. All households of or including more than two family units form another category. Lastly, there are households consisting of one person and those of two or more persons which do not include a family unit.

The introduction to the census publication lays particular stress on the fact that the term « child » denotes relationship only and does not indicate any age group.

It was left entirely up to the household to decide who was the head of household, and the census-taker played no part in this decision.

The classifications in question are therefore less detailed than those considered earlier. The distinction between mothers and fathers without spouses is no longer made and no account is taken of blood ties between family units or with « other persons ».

2. CONVENTIONAL TABLES

Table II-IV-I shows the trend in the number of households according to size since 1926. The steady increase in the proportion of one or two-person households is a pattern observed in all OECD countries. On the other hand, the fact that the proportion of large-sized households has been maintained, and in some cases has even increased, is

Table II-IV-1

Persons in private households classified by household size, 1926 to 1966

Number of persons in household	1926	1936	1946	1961	1966
1	51 537	60 570	68 881	85 388	88 989
2	196 874	221 976	237 476	274 574	279 082
3	307 992	334 527	349 203	350 628	343 308
4	384 964	400 472	413 692	392 932	388 232
5	411 620	414 550	422 185	392 160	396 600
6	391 860	376 584	377 730	355 278	366 408
7	338 926	320 551	308 196	286 321	297 584
8	266 376	247 696	228 024	209 656	216 784
9	189 801	177 021	161 730	140 580	148 950
10	131 900	122 300	82 600	95 710	102 300
11	60 401	58 850	52 569	48 070	53 878
12 or more	58 330	55 950	53 204	55 004	72 335
Total	2 790 581	2 791 047	2 755 490	2 686 301	2 754 450

Table II-IV-2

Private households classified by type 1961 and 1966
and percentage change in each category

Type of household	1961	1966	Percentage change
One person	85 388	88 989	+ 4.2
Man and wife	58 691	62 153	+ 5.9
Man, wife and one or more single children (of any age)	249 988	266 891	+ 6.8
One parent and one or more single children (of any age)	74 225	68 191	— 8.1
Man and wife with other persons	20 742	19 018	— 8.3
Man, wife and one or more single children (of any age) with other persons	70 662	69 475	— 1.7
One parent and one or more single children (of any age) with other persons	23 308	19 469	—16.5
Two family units with or without other persons	21 923	24 134	+ 10.1
Three or more family units with or without other persons	286	448	+ 56.6
Two or more persons but not including a family unit	71 189	68 536	— 3.7
Total	676 402	687 304	+ 1.6

unique. The authors of the publication suggest that this might be due to the decline in net emigration to the United States, which affected larger families to a greater extent.

The second conventional table II-IV-2 shows the numbers of the ten types of household in 1961 and in 1966 and the percentage change in each category over that period. Among the one-family households, the single-family nucleus with children accounts for only 60 per cent of households with children, a small percentage which gives cause to regret the lack of a more detailed classification of families and households, with the last two columns indicating the number of persons concerned and the number of under 14-year-olds among them. One-third of these children live in incomplete or extended families, or even outside families.

3. FURTHER DETAILS OF THE FAMILY AND THE HOUSEHOLD

Two tables provide a few details on the family and children. The first (II-IV-3) combines the two criteria that were taken separately before: namely, household size and family type.

The large size of families in Ireland as compared with other countries is quite striking. Thus, the two-parent family nucleus has 3.3 children on average. If one-person households are excluded, the average size of households is 4.4 persons. These figures can be explained by several factors, namely continuing high fertility, the large proportion of households engaged in traditional activities, but also an older age structure as a result of emigration.

The second table (II-IV-4) is the only one that provides information on young children (under 14 years old). When their distribution is compared with that of households it will be seen that there are a very large number of « children » over 14 years old. The figures of the table below show how they are distributed among households composed of the complete family nucleus only, and then among households comprising the incomplete family nucleus only.

A large number of older « children », are therefore living with their parents or with one parent. These findings can be linked to a number of characteristics specific to Irish demography. A very large

Complete families

Number of children in household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Children under 14	25 557	66 569	94 613	102 443	87 739	66 129	47 677	34 360	19 731
Children over 14	32 396	51 275	53 911	48 249	38 001	27 459	19 250	13 736	7 692

Incomplete families

Number of children in household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Children under 14	1 303	3 350	5 255	5 509	4 729	3 661	2 576	1 669	1 187
Children over 14	29 972	33 142	21 580	12 739	7 171	4 187	1 534	1 379	667

Table II-IV-3

Private households classified by type and total number of persons in household

Type of household	Total house-holds	Number of persons in household: 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 or more
One person	88 989	88 989	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Man and wife	62 153	—	62 153	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Man, wife and one or more children (of any age)	266 891	—	—	57 953	58 922	49 508	37 673	25 148	15 598	9 561	6 012	3 047	3 469
One parent and one or more children (of any age)	68 191	—	31 275	18 246	8 945	4 562	2 380	1 308	730	381	206	84	74
Man and wife with other persons	19 018	—	—	15 228	2 931	593	164	61	21	11	8	1	—
Man, wife and one or more children (of any age) with other persons	69 475	—	—	—	12 919	15 457	13 765	10 671	7 208	4 373	2 600	1 139	1 343
One parent and one or more children (of any age) with other persons	19 469	—	—	7 143	5 535	3 187	1 730	957	488	226	114	45	44
Two families units with or without other persons	24 134	—	—	—	3 149	4 704	4 970	4 178	2 940	1 881	1 182	532	598
Three or more family units with or without other persons	448	—	—	—	—	—	27	54	76	88	94	43	66
Two or more persons but not including a family unit	68 536	—	46 113	15 866	4 657	1 309	359	135	37	29	14	7	10
Total	687 304	88 989	139 541	114 436	97 058	79 320	61 068	42 512	27 098	16 550	10 230	4 895	5 604

Table II-IV-4

Children under 14 years of age in private households classified by type of household and by number of persons in household

Type of household	Total children under 14 years	Number of persons in household: 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 or more
One person	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Man and wife	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Man, wife and one or more children (of any age)	571 325	—	—	25 557	66 569	94 613	102 433	87 739	66 129	47 677	34 360	19 731	26 517
One parent and one or more children (of any age)	30 314	—	1 303	3 350	5 255	5 509	4 729	3 661	2 576	1 669	1 187	536	539
Man and wife with other persons	2 124	—	—	901	585	279	176	96	32	32	23	—	—
Man, wife and one or more children (of any age) with other persons	160 051	—	—	—	7 845	19 531	28 076	30 337	25 915	19 125	13 233	6 508	9 481
One parent and one or more children (of any age) with other persons	15 377	—	—	1 409	2 631	2 980	2 702	2 238	1 452	875	553	232	305
Two family units with or without other persons	47 170	—	—	—	481	3 665	7 429	9 171	8 414	6 692	4 938	2 582	3 798
Three or more family units with or without other persons	1 250	—	—	—	—	—	17	67	136	226	277	162	365
Two or more persons but not including a family unit	3 304	—	868	695	549	465	268	151	77	102	12	63	24
Total	830 915	—	2 171	31 912	83 915	127 042	145 830	133 460	104 731	76 398	54 613	29 814	41 029

Table II-IV-5

Private households classified by type and by number of children under 14 years

Census of population, 1961

Type of household	Number of persons	Total	Children under 14 years												
			0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 or more
Man, wife and one or more children (of any age)	Total	249 988	67 655	47 637	42 980	34 588	24 217	15 281	8 826	4 781	2 450	1 056	371	109	37
	3	55 049	30 038	25 011	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	4	55 738	20 831	7 711	27 196	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	5	46 513	10 375	7 302	5 733	23 103	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	6	34 846	4 291	4 482	5 122	4 590	16 361	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	7	23 432	1 461	1 905	2 871	3 553	3 363	10 189	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	8	14 775	453	769	1 353	1 991	2 380	2 268	5 561	—	—	—	—	—	—
	9	8 880	139	261	454	900	1 252	1 497	1 443	2 934	—	—	—	—	—
	10	5 457	51	85	193	315	587	872	1 055	897	1 402	—	—	—	—
	11	2 719	12	15	42	103	195	291	496	521	476	568	—	—	—
	12 +	2 579	4	6	16	33	79	164	271	429	572	488	371	109	37
Man, wife and one or more children (of any age) with other persons	Total	70 662	12 402	15 579	13 985	11 239	7 978	4 711	2 595	1 239	589	231	80	24	10
	4	13 271	5 013	8 022	236	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	5	15 816	3 923	3 544	8 122	227	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	6	14 071	2 042	2 134	2 852	6 878	165	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	7	10 918	918	1 116	1 502	2 241	5 016	125	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	8	7 284	346	458	788	1 103	1 600	2 886	78	—	—	—	—	—	—
	9	4 404	121	193	324	491	723	964	1 554	34	—	—	—	—	—
	10	2 662	30	64	123	225	331	494	619	756	20	—	—	—	—
	11	1 070	8	16	23	62	93	150	183	238	297	10	—	—	—
	12 +	1 166	1	7	15	22	50	92	161	211	272	221	80	24	10

Table II-IV-6

Private households classified by type, size and number of rooms occupied

Type of household	Number of persons in household	Total households	Rooms occupied										
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 or more	Not stated
One person	1	88 989	9 538	15 357	22 373	23 512	9 130	5 278	1 824	831	327	318	501
Man and wife	2	62 153	1 401	5 911	12 714	18 903	10 109	8 374	2 706	1 054	364	352	265
Man, wife and one or more children (of any age)	Total	266 891	2 238	9 219	34 598	89 846	58 682	46 502	15 354	5 881	2 143	1 668	760
	3	57 953	985	3 430	10 096	18 223	11 307	9 313	2 797	975	352	296	179
	4	58 922	738	2 496	8 122	18 428	12 258	11 169	3 565	1 241	436	311	158
	5	49 508	339	1 505	5 980	15 723	11 072	9 635	3 177	1 195	426	331	125
	6	37 673	98	789	4 091	12 757	8 842	7 092	2 339	957	342	262	104
	7	25 148	42	457	2 571	9 203	5 995	4 147	1 559	634	266	194	80
	8	15 598	17	246	1 576	5 996	3 832	2 376	889	387	144	99	36
	9	9 561	9	145	994	3 844	2 343	1 298	506	236	89	65	32
	10	6 012	6	83	588	2 653	1 448	744	238	135	40	59	18
	11	3 047	1	43	271	1 362	735	367	145	65	21	25	11
	12 +	3 469	3	25	309	1 657	850	361	138	56	27	26	17
One parent and one or more children (of any age)	Total	68 191	454	3 200	13 975	25 267	13 020	7 295	2 809	1 182	419	368	202
	2	31 275	336	2 090	7 737	11 171	5 251	2 809	1 030	451	162	145	93
	3	18 246	69	695	3 601	6 733	3 729	2 051	754	341	126	96	51
	4	8 945	26	223	1 412	3 349	1 955	1 181	475	180	56	57	31
	5	4 562	9	119	630	1 768	970	603	280	109	34	30	10
	6	2 380	8	32	283	1 021	500	322	131	48	14	15	6
	7	1 308	4	21	150	568	284	158	73	25	9	11	5
	8	730	—	11	77	314	167	90	40	10	11	7	3
	9	381	—	7	43	179	79	36	16	11	4	3	3
	10	206	—	2	22	96	45	26	7	4	1	3	—
	11	84	1	—	11	37	21	8	2	2	2	—	—
	12 +	74	1	—	9	31	19	11	1	1	—	1	—

proportion of people remain unmarried and the average age at marriage is high, while the high fertility rate and emigration keep the population at more or less the same level. Consequently, the generations overlap less and children stay with their parents until a later age. If they remain unmarried, they no doubt stay in a family in many cases — either that of their parents or alternatively, perhaps, that of a married brother or sister.

This family concentration is accentuated by the absence of divorce because of the Catholic religion and the large rural population. Demographic factors do not necessarily explain the distribution among families and households since these factors constitute only one of the conditions. Thus, if marriages were many and at an early age, there would be no tables looking like II-IV-3 and II-IV-4; though conversely, with marriages few and at a late age, the tables might also look very different, say, with a very high proportion of persons living alone.

In the 1961 census, the layout of Table II-IV-4 was more complex but gave a clearer picture of the independence of family and household. It crossed the number of children under 14 years old with the number of persons in the household for each of the ten types of household. Some of the results are given in Table II-IV-5. The additional information obtained is not particularly significant, but the device of giving the total number of children under 14 for a specific size of household is a skilful one. While on the subject of these tables, another little point is noticeable: the terminal figures — those on the diagonal — are higher (in the case of one-family-only households) than the figures preceding them. This tends to strengthen the impression that two types of family coexist, namely the conventional family with quite young parents and hence young children, and the older family with children who are comparatively old but still unmarried.

The same can be said of the families with « other persons » but the highest figures have moved back one column and the very low figures are now on the outer diagonal. From this it is safe to conclude that the vast majority of these families include only one additional person. But with so little to go on in the way of data it would be dangerous to carry the description any further, and so we prefer to conclude with a rather different table which links dwellings to households.

4. DWELLING AND HOUSEHOLD

Attention has so far been focussed on the link between the individual and the family and then between the family and the household. These links first of all involved biological and legal factors, then communal organisation and, lastly, a location, the latter being represented by the dwelling, i.e. the fixing the household in a spatial dimension.

Population censuses are often coupled with housing censuses. Originally this served to establish a tax base when the assessment was made on external evidence of wealth. Now it makes possible the organisation of health and other facilities on a large scale and the provision of standards for renovation. The majority of censuses therefore include detailed data on the facilities and accommodation of households. However, such data are rarely concerned with the family structure and the number of persons simply serves as an indicator of the composition of the household.

The Irish census is an exception to this rule and provides a cross-classification by number of rooms occupied and number of persons in the household for each of the ten types of family organisation (Table II-IV-6 gives a few examples). Notwithstanding the imprecision of the concept of « room » and the inadequately expressed relationship between childhood and types of household, this table does provide a first indication of the purely physical living environment of the child.

Table II-IV-6 shows that large families experience overcrowding and also that there is a predominant type of housing unit, since the distribution mode is four rooms irrespective of the size and type of family. The average size of the housing unit therefore does not bear much relation to the size of the household: there is under-occupancy where households are small and overcrowding where they are large.

This provides some indication of the child's living conditions, but that is as far as one can go. Any attempt to explain the trend would require one to take many factors into account, such as differences between town and country, differences between social classes, the average age of dwellings, renovation and so on.

This last table lent a certain originality to the Irish data, but it should be remembered that the other tables were inadequate for the purposes of a description of childhood, a fact that is all the more regrettable since the family organisation and structure of households in Ireland seem to be among the most original in the OECD area.

Chapter V

NEW ZEALAND : THE FAMILY AT A GLANCE

As part of the 1971 census the New Zealand Department of Statistics published a volume on « Households, families and fertility ». It contains tables that are different from those previously given and new family breakdowns. However, the data on children are still fragmentary since the focus is almost entirely on economic data as to the occupational status and income of the head of household and total household income.

1. DEFINITIONS

The household « comprises the total occupants of a single dwelling » ; a dwelling is housing with the basic amenities such as cooking and bathing facilities and toilet installations », but a distinction is made between « permanent private dwellings » and « non-private dwellings ». The former are intended for habitation either by a single person or a small group of individuals who « normally (though not always) form a durable social and economic unit, co-operating to provide themselves with the necessities of living ».

The confusion is apparent : taken literally, the definition of household is based solely on the housing unit, but the housing unit in turn is based on a concept quite close to that of the housekeeping unit. By contrast with the many countries that have gradually put the household inside the dwelling, these definitions put the dwelling around the household.

Households are classified under several headings according to the kind of ties between their occupants :

- non-private households are those which live in non-private dwellings ;
- the family is defined as one or two parents and possibly their children. It is not a biological entity since it includes individuals related by blood, marriage or adoption who live together in the household.

The census then distinguishes :

The complete one-family-only household.

The incomplete one-family-only household (where a member of the family is temporarily or permanently absent). This new definition is a great source of complication since, in an extreme case, a dwelling could be empty and correspond to this type of household where all the members are temporarily absent. In order to avoid this, at least two members of the family have to be present.

Absent children create another difficulty since no account can be taken of permanently absent children who are counted elsewhere in their own households. It is therefore necessary to introduce two types of absence : temporary and permanent. The friction between the demographic family and the economic and social family categories is very apparent at this point.

Table II-V-1

Private household types 1966-1971

Type of household	Numbers		Percentage of total private households	
	1966	1971	1966	1971
One family-only				
One family-complete	432 338	485 789	60.4	60.6
One family-child absent	24 700	25 400	3.4	3.2
One family-parent temporarily absent[1]	37 491	8 392	5.2	1.0
One family-parent permanently absent[1]		37 652		4.7
Totals	494 529	557 233	69.1	69.5
Other-family				
One family with other persons	..	76 449	..	9.5
Two or more families with or without other persons	..	12 040	..	1.5
Totals	89 540	88 489	12.5	11.0
Non-family				
Two or more persons	42 651	42 675	6.0	5.3
One-person households-normaly	89 384	104 943	12.5	13.1
One-person households-temporarily		8 346		1.0
Totals	132 035	155 964	18.4	19.5
Total private	716 104	801 686	100.0	100.0

[1] 1971 figures include 3.540 households where children were also absent.

Other-family households, which comprise several families or else one family with additional persons who may or may not be related to a member of the family.

Non-family households are by definition those which do not constitute a family unit, as in the case of two brothers living together.

One-person households, where the concept of temporary absence also applies. Nor should too many theoretical motives be sought in this notion of absence since practical considerations have also made it necessary, especially the difficulty of classifying visitors.

2. GLOBAL RESULTS

Table II-V-1 compares the distribution of households according to main types in 1966 and 1971. The proportion of absent children or parents is far from

Table II-V-2

Type of household by number and type of occupants

Type of households	Total Households	Households with occupants of								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 or more
MULTI-PERSON HOUSEHOLDS										
One-family-only (complete)										
Husband and wife only	153 592	—	153 592	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Husband and wife plus children	332 197	—	—	86 379	107 011	74 244	38 072	15 130	6 364	4 997
Totals, one-family-only (complete)	485 789	—	153 592	86 379	107 011	74 244	38 072	15 130	6 364	4 997
One-family-only (incomplete)										
Husband and wife only	5 739	—	5 739	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Husband and wife plus children (children absent)	19 661	—	—	6 550	5 591	3 521	1 915	953	531	600
Sub-totals	25 400	—	5 739	6 550	5 591	3 521	1 915	953	531	600
One parent plus children (spouse temporarily absent)	7 154	—	1 729	2 376	1 706	789	324	120	59	51
One parent plus children (spouse permanently absent)	35 350	—	18 578	8 476	4 425	2 109	980	411	191	180
One parent plus children (spouse and some children temporarily absent)	1 238	—	485	325	211	100	60	30	14	13
One parent plus children (spouse permanently absent, children temporarily absent)	2 302	—	975	605	341	183	77	66	28	27
Sub-totals	46 044	—	21 767	11 782	6 683	3 181	1 441	627	292	271
Totals, one family (incomplete)	71 444	—	27 506	18 332	12 274	6 702	3 356	1 580	823	871
Totals, one family households	557 233	—	181 098	104 711	119 285	80 946	41 428	16 710	7 187	5 868
Other multi-person households										
One family plus other persons (non-family) (1)	76 449	—	826	19 745	16 947	15 700	10 715	6 099	3 119	3 298
Two families only	9 630	—	—	—	2 259	2 263	1 947	1 362	802	997
Two families plus other persons (non-family)	2 131	—	—	—	—	340	363	398	309	721
Three or more families with or without other persons	279	—	—	—	—	—	24	39	43	173
Sub-totals	88 489	—	826	19 745	19 206	18 303	13 049	7 898	4 273	5 189
Non-family households										
Relatives only	27 441	—	18 340	5 143	2 678	918	266	72	20	4
Persons not related	13 283	—	11 252	1 501	324	107	49	29	10	11
Related and non-related persons	1 951	—	38	1 168	463	180	60	21	12	9
Totals, non-family households	42 675	—	29 630	7 812	3 465	1 205	375	122	42	24
Totals, other multi-person households	31 164	—	30 456	27 557	22 671	19 598	13 424	8 020	4 315	5 213
Totals, multi-person households	688 397	—	211 554	132 268	141 956	100 454	54 852	24 730	11 502	11 081
ONE-PERSON HOUSEHOLDS (On Census Night)										
Normally one-person households	104 943	104 943	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Normally two or more persons but non-family members temporarily absent	814	814	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Normally two or more persons but family or family and non-family members temporarily absent	7 532	7 532	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals, one person households	113 289	113 289	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	801 686	113 259	211 554	132 268	141 956	100 454	54 852	24 730	11 502	11 081

1. Includes cases of one family only with non-family members absent.

negligible, whereas this never appears in the censuses of other countries (except for permanent absences). The proportion of small households with a simple structure is, like everywhere else, growing only slowly in the case of nuclear families and considerably faster in that of one-person households.

Table II-V-2 gives a much broader view of household and family structure. It combines a wide variety of types of households with the number of occupants in them. A scrutiny of these seemingly disparate types reveals the principle of their formation.

For one-family-only households, the eight types result from the combination of four categories with the presence of all children or the temporary absence of some of them, as follows :

	Children present	At least one child temporarily absent
1. Husband and wife without children	Husband and wife only (complete family)	Husband and wife only (incomplete family)
2. Husband and wife with children	Husband and wife with children (complete family)	Husband and wife with children (incomplete family)
3. One parent temporarily absent	One parent plus children (spouse temporarily absent)	One parent plus children (spouse and children temporarily absent)
4. One parent permanently absent	One parent plus children (spouse permanently absent)	One parent plus children (spouse permanently absent, children temporarily absent)

Reading across in each of the four categories, we see how the characteristic of absence becomes more pronounced :

Parents and children			1
	no children present		2
	one parent absent	temporarily	3
		permanently	4

We thus get a fading description of the family : whereas usually the family radiates from the nucleus to ever more distant relatives and appears to be able to grow limitlessly, in New Zealand it contracts steadily. There the members of the complete nuclear family are crossed off one by one so that gradually it is stripped of its attributes.

The next two sub-divisions of the household are « other multi-person households » and « non-family households ». Here the criterion of absence does not apply, as indicated in the relevant table footnote. The principles of classification are simpler than for family households.

In multi-person households, the criterion « other person » is crossed with the criterion of number of family units. Only two categories are prominent : the family with one other person and two families living together.

For non-family households, the criterion of relationship, and therefore of the extended family, appears for the first time.

Lastly, one-person-only households, which are usually not dissected, are analysed minutely here, again because of the problems raised by present-in-area population. This classification of the family is thus entirely distorted because it is the *de facto* population which has been examined and not the *de jure* population as is usually the case. All these difficulties caused by temporary absence doubtless stem from this initial handicap since, on a given day, the presence or absence of individuals in a dwelling is not identical with their « average » presence during the year or their consolidated presence for the central events in the life of a family. But although the deficiencies in the family show up better in the *de facto* population figures, the deficiencies as revealed in the resident or *de jure* population statistics should not be overlooked. For even the *de jure* statistics, based as they are on rigid, legalistic definitions, cannot completely hide the fact that the family is constantly changing.

3. CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

The New Zealand census does not provide other information on the members of the family and the household as a whole since it concentrates more on the parameters of economic activity, and therefore on the occupational status and income of the head of household. However, a number of these economic classifications are broken down according to the number of children *under 16* present in the household and according to a few main types of household : one family, other family households, non-family households. A more specific table (II-V-3) departs from economic considerations and describes the composition of the family according to the age of the children ; the principle of its age distribution also differs from what we have seen in the countries already analysed : the age-groups are quite narrow (0-4 years, 5-14 years, 15 years, 16 years and over) but they are no longer combined with one another so as to show the size or detailed structure of the family. The table merely gives the number of children in each age-group separately and total children (on the same principle as in Table II-V-2, but with children replacing the number of persons in the household).

Although the table does not count children but households, it is possible to reconstitute approximately the standpoint of the child and to see the situation of young children : all in all, 226 000 live in complete families forming one-family households and 55 000, or a quarter, in other types of family ; this is a large proportion. It is still greater when we come to the 15-year-olds : 6 654 children of this age live in extended families, while 7 488 are on the

Table II-V-3

Family households: type of household by number and age of children in household

Type of family household	Total households	Number and age group of children											
		0-4 years				5-14 years						15 years	
		0	1	2	3 or more	0	1	2	3	4	5 or more	0	1 or more
One-family-only (complete)													
Husband and wife only	153 592	153 592	—	—	—	153 592	—	—	—	—	—	153 592	—
Husband and wife plus children	332 197	182 713	88 203	50 973	10 308	129 050	71 787	69 509	39 171	15 809	6 871	298 753	33 444
Totals, one-family-only (complete)	485 789	336 305	88 203	50 973	10 308	282 642	71 787	69 509	39 171	15 809	6 871	452 345	33 444
One-family-only (incomplete)													
Husband and wife only	5 739	5 739	—	—	—	5 739	—	—	—	—	—	5 739	—
Husband and wife plus children (some children absent)	19 661	16 043	2 673	736	209	5 702	6 195	4 080	2 111	954	619	16 532	3 079
Sub-totals	25 400	21 782	2 673	736	209	11 441	6 195	4 080	2 111	954	619	22 321	3 079
One parent plus children (spouse temporarily absent)	7 154	4 442	1 577	948	187	2 602	1 588	1 601	860	346	157	6 341	813
One parent plus children (spouse permanently absent)	35 350	31 235	2 831	1 040	244	22 210	5 857	3 969	1 995	898	421	32 245	3 105
One parent plus children (spouse and some children temporarily absent)	1 238	898	247	82	11	437	361	216	130	57	37	1 068	170
One parent plus children (spouse permanently absent some children temporarily absent)	2 302	2 068	175	45	14	1 027	614	362	153	81	65	1 981	321
Sub-totals	46 044	38 643	4 830	2 115	456	26 276	8 420	6 148	3 138	1 382	680	41 635	4 409
Totals, one-family-only (incomplete)	71 444	60 425	7 503	2 851	665	37 717	14 615	10 228	5 249	2 336	1 299	63 956	7 488
Totals, one-family households	557 233	396 730	95 706	53 824	10 973	320 359	86 402	79 737	44 420	18 145	8 170	516 301	40 932
Other family households													
One family plus other persons (non-family) (1)	76 449	55 653	12 360	6 670	1 766	44 214	12 751	9 989	5 584	2 530	1 381	70 838	5 611
Two families only	9 630	7 585	1 248	609	188	6 071	1 497	1 079	572	267	144	8 897	733
Two families plus other persons (non-family)	2 131	1 558	291	206	76	1 256	390	224	132	74	55	1 946	185
Three or more families with or without other persons	279	224	31	19	5	174	43	30	18	10	4	244	35
Sub-totals	88 489	65 020	13 030	7 504	2 035	51 715	14 681	11 322	6 306	2 881	1 584	81 925	6 564
Grand totals	645 722	461 750	109 636	61 328	13 008	372 074	101 083	91 059	50 726	21 026	9 754	598 226	47 496

		[illegible] years and over				Total Children[2]							
		0	1	2	3 or more	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
One-family-only (complete)													
Husband and wife only	153 592	153 592	—	—	—	153 592	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Husband and wife plus children	332 197	233 092	69 193	24 294	5 618	—	86 379	107 011	74 244	38 072	15 130	6 364	2 813
Totals, one-family-only (complete)	485 789	386 684	69 193	24 294	5 618	153 592	86 379	107 011	74 244	38 072	15 130	6 364	2 813
One-family-only (incomplete)													
Husband and wife only	5 739	5 739	—	—	—	5 739	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Husband and wife plus children (some children absent)	19 661	10 259	7 083	1 927	392	—	6 550	5 591	3 521	1 915	953	531	301
Sub-totals	25 400	15 998	7 083	1 927	392	5 739	6 550	5 591	3 521	1 915	953	531	301
One parent plus children (spouse temporarily absent)	7 154	4 819	1 608	587	140	—	1 729	2 376	1 706	789	324	120	59
One parent plus children (spouse permanently absent)	35 350	16 879	14 140	3 485	846	—	18 578	8 476	4 425	2 109	980	411	191
One parent plus children (spouse and some children temporarily absent)	1 238	784	347	92	15	—	485	325	211	100	60	30	14
One parent plus children (spouse permanently absent, some children temporarily absent)	2 302	996	977	272	57	—	975	605	341	183	77	66	28
Sub-totals	46 044	23 478	17 072	4 436	1 058	—	21 767	11 782	6 683	3 181	1 441	627	292
Totals, one-family-only (incomplete)	71 444	39 476	24 155	6 363	1 450	5 739	28 317	17 373	10 204	5 096	2 394	1 158	593
Totals, one-family households	557 233	426 160	93 345	30 657	7 068	159 331	114 696	124 384	84 448	43 168	17 524	7 522	3 406
Other family households													
One family plus other persons (non-family) (1)	76 449	56 514	14 211	4 602	1 122	23 009	16 850	15 670	10 397	5 501	2 612	1 221	626
Two families only	9 630	6 984	1 963	544	139	3 392	2 297	1 709	1 123	606	240	145	56
Two families plus other persons (non-family)	2 131	1 492	445	144	50	636	499	388	256	156	82	61	30
Three or more families with or without other persons	279	189	66	17	7	88	77	44	26	24	7	9	1
Sub-totals	88 489	65 179	16 685	5 307	1 318	27 125	19 723	17 811	11 802	6 287	2 941	1 436	713
Grand totals	645 722	491 339	110 033	35 964	8 386	186 456	134 419	142 195	96 250	49 455	20 465	8 958	4 119

1. Includes cases of one family only non-family members absent.
2. Comprises all unmarried children of any age.

Table II-V-4

One-complete-family-only households: age and income of head of household, by number of children[1] in household

Occupational status and income group of head $	Total household	Husband and wife only	Husband and wife with 1 child	2 children	3 children	4 children	5 children	6 children	7 children	8 children	9 children	10 children	11 children	12 children or more
All heads by income														
Nil	22 646	18 258	2 596	900	368	233	117	84	48	22	13	3	3	1
1 - 199	5 725	4 654	614	224	122	54	23	14	10	6	2	1	1	—
200 - 599	8 316	6 310	1 066	451	223	133	62	37	13	7	11	2	—	1
600 - 999	6 882	4 742	1 019	517	281	158	76	40	25	16	6	1	1	—
1 000 - 1 399	9 208	5 113	1 553	1 095	662	421	170	105	41	30	7	6	3	1
1 400 - 1 799	10 519	4 967	1 975	1 507	1 052	551	264	103	50	28	10	5	5	2
1 800 - 2 199	26 801	10 446	5 293	4 690	3 038	1 651	874	379	228	88	47	27	9	1
2 200 - 2 599	50 017	16 454	10 328	9 792	6 527	3 713	1 598	783	393	194	77	42	13	3
2 600 - 2 999	56 868	16 889	11 394	12 546	3 216	4 323	1 897	863	404	198	91	29	16	2
3 000 - 3 999	133 692	33 283	24 959	34 165	22 412	11 268	4 390	1 860	762	358	139	67	19	6
4 000 - 4 999	72 078	14 842	12 354	19 773	14 193	6 791	2 488	967	390	184	62	20	10	3
5 000 - 5 999	33 332	6 643	5 505	9 038	6 923	3 356	1 159	437	165	75	18	11	1	1
6 000 - 6 999	15 719	3 230	2 467	4 229	3 250	1 548	575	202	74	26	14	2	1	1
7 000 - 7 999	8 355	1 681	1 284	2 162	1 834	921	322	92	31	16	7	4	—	1
8 000 - 8 999	5 802	1 239	915	1 417	1 243	650	203	84	34	12	4	1	—	—
9 000 9 999	3 903	799	585	998	811	458	165	51	17	6	2	—	1	—
10 000 - 14 999	7 754	1 550	1 190	1 871	1 698	940	317	114	47	19	3	3	—	2
15 000 and over	3 464	701	507	822	770	434	152	45	22	6	2	2	—	—
Not specified	4 708	1 791	775	814	591	359	178	104	59	20	7	6	4	—
Totals	485 789	153 592	86 379	107 011	74 244	38 072	15 130	6 364	2 813	1 311	522	232	87	25
All heads by age group														
Under 20 years	1 427	576	742	84	14	5	4	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
20 - 24	33 862	15 930	10 860	5 731	1 083	202	34	11	8	3	—	—	—	—
25 - 44	225 073	24 138	30 537	68 554	54 612	28 374	10 970	4 552	1 900	888	328	156	49	13
45 - 64	167 604	63 920	37 655	31 139	18 119	9 321	4 058	1 765	894	414	190	74	38	12
65 years and over	57 823	49 028	6 585	1 503	416	170	64	36	9	6	4	2	—	—
Totals	485 789	153 592	86 379	107 011	74 244	38 072	15 130	6 364	2 813	1 311	522	232	87	25

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[1] Children (unmarried) of any age.

Table II-V-5

One-complete-family-only households: occupational status and income of head of household by total income of family

Income group of head $	Total Households	Total income of family ($) Nil	1-599	600-1 399	1 400-1 799	1 800-2 199	2 200-2 599	2 600-2 999	3 000-3 999	4 000-4 999	5 000-5 999	6 000-7 999	8 000-9 999	10 000-14 999	15 000 and over	Not specified	Median income of family $
All heads of households																	
Nil	22 646	17 368	1 334	808	406	524	469	393	484	248	148	128	36	20	2	280	1 753
1 - 199	5 725	—	4 759	261	92	100	96	88	143	79	33	17	4	6	1	46	329
200 - 599	8 316	—	5 267	1 512	196	198	215	201	341	134	20	63	19	10	1	79	513
600 - 999	6 882	—	—	4 342	891	290	236	209	374	242	94	86	21	18	4	75	881
1 000 - 1 399	9 208	—	—	4 669	906	748	986	414	570	492	137	127	30	23	4	102	1 300
1 400 - 1 799	10 519	—	—	—	5 146	1 065	714	737	1 433	617	369	234	52	30	7	115	1 821
1 800 - 2 199	26 801	—	—	—	—	14 012	2 144	1 519	3 134	3 687	816	797	215	78	11	388	2 177
2 200 - 2 599	50 017	—	—	—	—	—	24 943	3 941	5 797	9 274	2 469	2 127	556	204	15	691	2 596
2 600 - 2 999	56 868	—	—	—	—	—	—	27 732	7 433	10 304	5 782	3 600	968	299	23	727	3 046
3 000 - 3 999	133 692	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	75 903	15 426	21 746	14 724	3 318	1 156	72	1 347	3 872
4 000 - 4 999	72 078	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	41 649	8 801	13 989	5 585	1 403	68	583	4 853
5 000 - 5 999	33 332	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19 020	8 829	3 424	1 727	81	251	5 870
6 000 - 6 999	15 719	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11 023	2 724	1 760	90	122	6 872
7 000 - 7 999	8 355	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4 642	2 258	1 190	205	60	7 893
8 000 - 8 999	5 802	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4 045	1 528	182	47	8 905
9 000 - 9 999	3 903	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 180	1 499	186	38	9 886
10 000 - 14 999	7 754	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6 271	1 429	54	13 070
15 000 and over	3 464	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3 464	—	...
Not specified	4 708	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	4 705	...
Totals	485 789	17 368	11 360	11 592	7 637	16 937	29 803	35 234	95 612	82 152	59 495	60 386	25 435	17 222	5 848	9 710	4 258

contrary in incomplete families, and only 33 444 live in « one-family-only (complete) households ». These figures do not include children living outside family units, the number of whom is not known. We only know how children under 16 and adolescents (16-19 years), according to the New Zealand definition, are distributed in non-private households :

	Children (under 16)	Adolescents (16-19 years)
Hotels	2 696	5 085
Educational institutions	12 467	8 564
Welfare institutions	1 997	216
Medical institutions	4 943	4 852
Religious institutions	533	205
Others	567	2 806
Total	23 201	23 916

It is very difficult to associate these children with their parents. For example, the figures for medical institutions include children who were there at the time of the census for only a short stay, as well as chronically sick children.

4. FAMILY SIZE AND INCOME

The household's income is a good variable for describing living conditions : it is rather spare in that it takes no account of place (town or country) or habits, but it does give a rough idea of the standard of living.

Family income as such is something of an oddity in that it is acquired independently of the size of families (apart from some benefits), but is spent by all. It is therefore to be feared that large families have a lower income per person than small families. Unfortunately, statistics on this are rather scarce. The New Zealand census gives some idea of the situation by publishing the breakdown of *one-complete-family-only* households according to income in sixteen groups and by number of children (II-V-4). However, this table is somewhat inadequate for a study of children : the children covered are not young children since age is not a criterion used for purposes of definition here. But the children concerned are probably mostly fairly young, older children being more frequent in incomplete families. A brief breakdown of heads of complete families by age-group confirms this :

Age of head of family	No child	One child	Two children	Three or more children
Under 20 years	576	742	84	25
20 - 24	15 930	10 860	5 731	1 341
25 - 44	24 138	30 537	58 554	101 844
45 - 64	63 920	37 665	31 139	34 890
65 and over	49 028	6 585	1 503	707

Another shortcoming is that we only have one-complete-family households here ; the incomes of other households, in which 20 per cent of children aged from 0 to 4 years live, are not given.

A third defect is that we do not have the income of the household but only that of its head. Table II-V-5 provides a means of estimating the bias that has thus been introduced : the income of the head of household is crossed with total family income. However, for incomes of under NZ $ 6 000, family income is in the same group as that of its head in more than 50 per cent of cases. A brief comment may be made on Table II-V-4 after all these provisos. It shows the almost complete independence of the income of the head of household from the size of the household : at most, the proportion of heads of household with a very low income or a very high income is smaller when the family is large. This is partly due to the fact that couples without children are often at the beginning of their working lives (in which case they are very young and therefore less well paid) or else at the end.

The consequence of this independence of income from family size is logically a lower standard of living for children in large families.

In conclusion, the New Zealand census has shown us several aspects of the family and the household which we had not hitherto encountered. First of all, it has revealed the problem of working with a present-in-area population and the complication this introduces into the type classification of households because of persons absent.

Next we have seen a new method of breaking down the composition of families by the number and age of the children. Finally, we would recall the comments just made on the table concerning the relationship between income and family size.

Chapter VI

THE FAMILY AND PERSONS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY IN SWITZERLAND

The « households » section of the 1970 Swiss census (published in 1975) contains one of the most elaborate classifications of households : 49 types are listed, combining family relationships and a wealth of detail on « persons outside the family ».

The designation « persons outside the family » seems, moreover, to be something of an obsession among Swiss census-takers ; it is to be found in statistics on the family, the economy, marriages, in every table. In this respect Switzerland is the country which comes closest to the idea of the extended family, so extended that there is nothing beyond except « the person outside the family », i.e. the person who can be neither identified nor defined and who is coaxed forward, one might say, by all these statistics as though by some charm. But let us take a closer look at the excellent results of the Swiss census and this strange obsession.

1. Definitions

The definition of the household is not without ambiguity : it is « either a group of persons who dwell and live together, or an individual with his own household ». The term « live » would seem to indicate that dwelling together is not a sufficient condition and therefore suggests the concept of the household-housekeeping unit. However, it is also stated that « as a general rule, a household includes all persons who dwell in it and are there at the time of the census or only temporarily absent » ; so now we have the concept of the household — housing unit.

This ambiguity persists in the definition of the initial categories of households : private households and institutional households.

A private household is constituted « either by the members of a family living together and all other persons dwelling with them (domestic staff, helpers of self-employed persons, lodgers, boarders, permanent guests and sick-nurses), or by individuals or unrelated persons who live in their own dwelling or rent direct from the house-owner a room or attic which is separate from his dwelling ». This definition appears very precise but in fact refers us to the definition of dwelling and relationship, and to the still unexplained distinction between « dwell » and « live ». However, the status of « other persons » is explicit and seems to exclude the interpretation of a household-housekeeping unit with shared meals.

Institutional households, the other main category, consist of listed institutions.

Private households are then split into family and non-family households. The first must include at least the family nucleus and the second cover the other cases.

Both the family nuclei and the structure of the household are quite different from what we have seen up to now. All is linked to the head of the family : the nucleus, the relatives and then persons outside the family, so there can be *only one nucleus* per household.

As a rule, the head of household is the person who designates himself/herself as such, although adjustments have been made in cases where there were doubts as to whether that person was in fact the head of household. For example, married women were recognised as heads of household only if the husband was not recorded as being in the same household. In no case were persons under 16 years old regarded as heads of household. The system is one of supervised freedom of choice.

Starting with the head of household — designation of whom is stabilized by the monitoring procedure — the family nucleus is formed with the addition of the spouse of the head of household and, in the latter's absence, a progenitor or offspring of the head of household. This nucleus may accordingly take five forms :

- a couple without children ;
- a couple with children ;
- head of household living solely with his/her children ;
- head of household living with his/her father and mother ;
- head of household living with his/her father or mother.

Table II-VI-1
Households in 1920, 1930, 1960 and 1970

Type	1920				1930				1960				1970			
	Households		Persons		Households		Persons		Households		Persons		Households		Persons	
	Number	‰	Number	‰	Number	‰	Number	‰	Number	‰	Number	‰	Number	‰	Number	‰
Total households	886 874	1 000	3 880 320	1 000	1 002 915	1 000	4 066 400[1]	1 000	1 594 010	1 000	5 429 061	1 000	2 062 438	1 000	6 269 783	1 000
***of which* institutional households**	3 528	4	137 002	35	8 328	8	162 286	40	13 010	8	260 115	48	10 846	5	255 674	41
Private households	883 346	1 000	3 743 318	1 000	994 587	1 000	3 903 688	1 000	1 581 000	1 000	5 168 946	1 000	2 051 592	1 000	6 014 109	1 000
Of: 1 person	75 511	85	75 511	20	84 563	85	84 563	22	224 446	142	224 446	43	402 900	196	402 900	67
Men	24 840	28	24 840	7	25 539	26	25 539	7	64 403	41	64 403	12	128 740	63	128 740	21
Women	50 671	57	50 671	13	59 024	59	59 024	15	160 043	101	160 043	31	274 160	134	274 160	46
2 persons	147 844	167	295 688	79	196 449	198	392 898	101	423 679	268	847 358	164	583 862	285	1 167 724	194
3 persons	164 972	187	494 916	132	208 361	209	625 083	160	325 773	206	977 319	189	395 318	193	1 185 954	197
4 persons	155 102	176	620 408	166	182 511	184	730 044	187	271 621	172	1 086 484	210	346 897	169	1 387 588	231
5 persons	121 501	138	607 505	162	128 045	129	640 225	164	161 721	102	808 605	156	181 070	88	905 350	151
6 persons	83 532	95	501 192	134	194 658	196	1 430 875	367	84 937	54	509 622	99	79 030	39	474 180	79
7 persons	54 192	61	379 344	101					43 638	28	305 466	59	33 997	17	237 979	40
8 persons	33 138	38	265 104	71					22 017	14	176 136	34	15 731	8	125 848	21
9 persons	19 934	23	179 406	48					11 306	7	101 754	20	6 785	3	61 065	10
10 persons	11 754	13	117 540	31					5 726	4	57 260	11	3 152	2	31 520	5
11 persons	6 715	8	73 865	20					2 955	2	32 505	6	1 522	1	16 742	3
12 persons or more	9 151	10	132 839	35					3 181	2	41 991	8	1 328	1	17 259	3
Situation in the household																
Head	—	—	883 346	236	—	—	994 587	255	—	—	1 581 000	306	—	—	2 051 592	341
Spouse of head	—	—	621 702	166	—	—	720 857	185	—	—	1 131 412	219	—	—	1 409 940	234
Children of head	—	—	1 591 715	425	—	—	1 514 787	388	—	—	1 770 979	343	—	—	2 050 153	341
Father and mother of head	—	—	205 773	55	—	—	87 101	22	—	—	50 945	10	—	—	40 527	7
Parents-in-law of head	—	—			—	—	162 232	42	—	—	29 319	6	—	—	20 333	3
Other relatives of head	—	—			—	—			—	—	176 359	34	—	—	132 778	22
Domestic staff	—	—	95 118	25	—	—	107 752	28	—	—	70 674	14	—	—	28 728	5
Other employees	—	—	109 379	29	—	—	105 569	27	—	—	71 398	14	—	—	27 055	4
Lodgers	—	—	186 262	50	—	—	172 051	44	—	—	229 583	44	—	—	157 895	26
Other persons	—	—	50 023	13	—	—	38 752	10	—	—	57 277	11	—	—	95 108	16
Family households	807 835	1 000	3 667 807	1 000	846 431	1 000	3 643 715	1 000	1 243 660	1 000	4 650 077	1 000	1 526 936	1 000	5 313 840	1 000
Family nucleus with no other persons	453 793[2]	562	1 850 042[2]	504	538 184	636	1 998 308	548	940 640	756	3 122 631	672	1 309 564	858	4 262 457	802
Couple only	85 128	105	170 256	46	124 094	147	248 188	68	301 562	242	603 124	130	434 798	285	869 596	164
Couple with children	301 398	373	1 457 379	397	338 799	400	1 524 483	418	565 684	455	2 332 955	502	785 681	515	3 170 963	597
Family nucleus and relatives	92 943[2]	115	433 106[2]	118	77 894	92	403 964	111	109 886	88	534 900	115	92 004	60	440 346	83
Family nucleus and persons outside the family	216 381	268	1 096 169	299	193 458	229	993 286	273	165 920	133	809 532	174	113 230	74	531 885	100
Family nucleus, relatives and persons outside the family	44 718	55	288 490	79	36 895	44	248 157	68	27 214	22	183 014	39	12 138	8	79 152	15
Family households with children of head	601 417	1 000	(3) 1 591 715	1 000	626 273	1 000	(3) 1 514 787	1 000	846 467	1 000	(3) 1 770 979	1 000	1 020 477	1 000	(3) 2 050 153	1 000
Including: 1 child	189 670	315	189 670	119	220 102	351	220 102	145	338 309	400	338 309	191	410 506	402	410 506	200
2 children	160 445	267	320 890	202	181 823	290	363 646	240	269 296	318	538 592	304	348 093	341	696 186	340
3 children	105 063	175	315 189	198	103 405	165	310 215	205	137 545	162	412 635	233	164 550	161	493 650	241
4 children	62 845	104	251 380	158	55 909	89	223 636	148	58 668	69	234 672	133	61 462	60	245 848	120
5 children	36 903	61	184 515	116	29 921	48	149 605	99	24 120	28	120 600	68	21 644	21	108 220	53
6 children	21 110	35	126 660	80	16 524	26	99 144	65	10 257	12	61 542	35	8 315	8	49 890	24
7 children	12 042	20	84 294	53	8 990	14	62 930	42	4 579	5	32 053	18	3 307	3	23 149	11
8 children	6 588	11	52 704	33	4 846	8	38 768	26	1 968	2	15 744	9	1 470	1	11 760	6
9 children	3 533	6	31 797	20	2 510	4	22 590	15	928	1	8 352	5	654	1	5 886	3
10 children or more	3 218	5	34 616	22	2 243	4	24 151	16	797	1	8 480	5	476	0	5 058	2

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1. Including 426 persons who are not part of any household.
2. As family nuclei formed solely of progenitors are not counted separately, the figures for the number of households and persons are too low under the heading « family nucleus with no other persons » and too high under « family nucleus and relatives » (for purposes of comparison, the difference in 1930 was 20,934 households and 48,931 persons).
3. Number of children.

There can be only one nucleus per household because it must include the head of the household. The persons who would have constituted another nucleus under the definitions examined earlier are attached to this nucleus in the capacity of relatives or persons outside the family. Thus, family and non-family households are classified according to whether the unit is :

- self-contained ;
- a relative is added ;
- a person outside the family is added ;
- relatives and persons outside the family are added.

This classification is very rich in potential combinations since heads of household can be differentiated by sex to obtain three types of nucleus in either case. These types and the non-family household can then be combined with the additional persons outside the family or relatives, which would give 32 detailed types.

This differentiation will not be adopted, however, since other even more detailed categories are to be introduced. Before examining them, let us first see how the broad categories can be used to obtain conventional data on the composition and size of households.

2. General data

The first table, II-VI-1, in the households section perfectly sets out the overall findings normally to be gleaned from the footnotes to tables scattered over the length and breadth of such a publication. First, it shows the trend in the breakdown of households by size, a quite typical trend for the OECD countries. Over a 50-year period the proportion of one-person households has doubled and that of households with more than 5 persons has fallen by two-thirds (7.1 per cent as against 24.8 per cent 50 years ago). The large share of one-woman households suggests that they are made up mainly of elderly persons.

The next heading introduces two typologies : the fairly conventional one of relationship to the head of family, reduced to progenitors and the spouse when these relations are differentiated, but extended to a special category entitled « other relatives of the head of household », who are usually lumped in with « other persons ». These additional family relationships are there to offset the absence of secondary nuclei : the number of relationships to the centre of the household is increased because peripheral connections are not taken into consideration.

The differentiation of persons outside the family is something more original, especially as it involves only 5 per cent of the population.

The last two headings provide the basic summing-up of family structures but the categories are too broad to be used effectively. The trend in family size is consistent with the secular decline in fertility, but is less marked than the trend in household size as the fall in the death rate has very little direct influence on fertility.

A shortcoming of Switzerland's family typology here becomes immediately apparent : in the case of children, only those of the head of household are identified, since the children of a relative living with the head are regarded as « other relatives of the head » and the children of domestic staff or lodgers as « other persons outside the family ».

3. The family in detail

The structure of households is given in detail in two tables. Table II-VI-2 provides a classification of 45 types, with households broken down by number of members and sex of head of household. The breakdown of the general types is fairly complex and needs to be clarified by the following chart :

Two concepts are crossed imperfectly : the structure of the family nucleus to which are added non-family households, i.e. six categories, and the presence or absence of relatives and persons outside the family, i.e. four categories in principle. But, depending on the circumstances, these four categories are divided into more or less narrow sub-categories : the relatives are differentiated according to whether they are simply progenitors of the head of household (and his spouse) or whether they include other relatives (brothers, nephews, etc). However, this means of separately identifying families of three generations in direct line is used only when there are no persons outside the family.

There are likewise varying breakdowns for persons outside the family. Sometimes they are all lumped together (when they live with an extended family nucleus) ; sometimes they are split into two groups — « lodgers only » on the one hand, and the rest of the designations on the other (when they live in non-family households) ; and sometimes the breakdown is finer, with « domestic staff only » and « other employees » being separated from the rest when they live in a family nucleus without relatives.

This extraordinary classification into 45 types is made even more complex by the fact that column 4 identifies households in which the mother is head (it will be recalled that there were cases where this was not possible), i.e. a further 28 types of household, giving a grand total of 73 different households (although the latter 28 types are not crossed with the number of persons in the household). There is much to admire in this process of construction which gradually aggregates persons around the head of household. At the same time attention must also be drawn to a number of its shortcomings, which are attributable precisely to the fact that the head of household is not always the same in families with identical structures and that the concept of head of household itself is perhaps not quite as reliable as one might like to believe.

By way of illustration let us take the family diagrams used to clarify the classification adopted in the Belgian census.

Table II-VI-2
Private households by type and size

Type of household	Total		Households with a woman as head		Households of ... persons												
	Households	Persons	Households	Persons	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12 or more	
																Households	Persons
Private households	2 051 592	6 014 109	435 900	698 627	402 900	583 862	395 318	346 897	181 070	79 030	33 997	15 731	6 785	3 152	1 522	1 328	17 259
Family households	1 526 936	5 313 840	91 616	257 923	—	494 544	374 605	340 034	178 508	77 877	33 446	15 446	6 655	3 071	1 489	1261	16 325
Family nucleus only (without other persons)	1 309 564	4 262 457	72 557	182 498	—	494 544	316 304	289 617	134 141	48 012	16 241	6 258	2 468	1 116	496	367	4 633
Couple without children	434 798	869 596	—	—	—	434 798	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Couple with children	785 681	3 170 963	—	—	—	—	296 593	283 051	132 158	47 321	15 998	6 168	2 433	1 104	490	365	4 607
Head of household and children	81 520	206 415	69 100	175 521	—	52 534	19 358	6 566	1 983	691	243	90	35	12	6	2	26
Head of household, father and mother	353	1 059	63	189	—	—	353	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Head of household and father or mother	7 212	14 424	3 394	6 788	—	7 212	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Family nucleus and relatives	92 004	440 346	7 615	29 581	—	—	24 507	22 026	19 458	12 391	7 077	3 696	1 556	697	328	268	3 396
Couple and relatives	21 360	67 756	—	—	—	—	18 549	2 213	430	110	32	13	11	2	—	—	—
Relatives : father and mother or parents-in-law only	6 902	21 027	—	—	—	—	6 583	317	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Couple, children and relatives	58 469	324 599	—	—	—	—	—	16 542	17 396	11 539	6 709	3 559	1 473	673	316	262	3 319
Relatives : father and mother or parents-in-law only	25 915	143 631	—	—	—	—	—	6 719	8 113	5 545	3 068	1 484	572	232	114	68	850
Head of household, children and relatives	10 136	40 809	7 207	28 246	—	—	4 619	2 798	1 492	687	318	115	67	22	12	6	77
Relatives : father and mother or parents-in-law only	1 996	7 467	1 612	5 962	—	—	1 074	553	344	84	26	9	5	1	—	—	—
Head of household, father and mother, relatives	192	907	15	74	—	—	—	106	56	17	7	2	4	—	—	—	—
Head of household, father or mother and relatives	1 847	6 275	393	1 261	—	—	1 339	367	84	38	11	7	1	—	—	—	—
Family nucleus and persons outside the family (P.O.F.)	113 230	531 885	10 382	40 104	—	—	33 794	26 325	22 575	15 132	8 123	4 036	1 716	777	375	377	5 048
Couple and P.O.F.	37 038	128 495	—	—	—	—	26 562	6 716	2 156	856	365	202	86	41	26	28	388
P.O.F. : domestic staff only	2 395	7 314	—	—	—	—	2 278	109	6	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
P.O.F. : other employees only	1 664	5 526	—	—	—	—	1 319	232	75	21	7	4	3	1	2	—	—
P.O.F. : lodgers only	20 158	68 016	—	—	—	—	15 337	3 274	928	332	146	82	31	10	9	9	121
Couple, children and P.O.F.	62 135	348 888	—	—	—	—	—	15 846	18 661	13 551	7 462	3 677	1 571	710	324	333	4 440
P.O.F. : domestic staff only	10 694	59 080	—	—	—	—	—	2 176	3 724	2 812	1 324	445	120	61	20	12	146
P.O.F. : other employees only	7 853	46 748	—	—	—	—	—	1 424	2 074	1 922	1 250	650	311	126	50	46	591
P.O.F. : lodgers only	22 693	120 743	—	—	—	—	—	7 357	7 242	4 439	2 079	930	349	146	69	82	1 118
Head of household, children and P.O.F.	13 133	51 321	9 985	38 753	—	—	6 545	3 611	1 704	710	292	152	58	25	23	13	177
P.O.F. : domestic staff only	1 292	4 927	624	2 339	—	—	660	355	192	57	14	6	6	—	—	2	25
P.O.F. : other employees only	474	1 963	363	1 496	—	—	199	137	70	37	14	12	2	1	1	1	13
P.O.F. : lodgers only	6 996	26 186	6 190	23 186	—	—	3 856	1 906	752	288	112	48	16	9	6	3	38
Head of household, father and mother, P.O.F.	53	233	10	46	—	—	—	36	15	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
P.O.F. : domestic staff only	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P.O.F. : other employees only	20	84	1	4	—	—	—	16	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P.O.F. : lodgers only	14	59	3	12	—	—	—	11	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Head of household, father or mother and P.O.F.	871	2 948	387	1 305	—	—	687	116	39	14	4	4	1	1	2	3	43
P.O.F. : domestic staff only	94	283	18	54	—	—	93	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P.O.F. : other employees only	76	237	6	18	—	—	68	7	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P.O.F. : lodgers only	432	1 428	255	836	—	—	362	48	10	4	2	2	—	1	2	1	14
Family nucleus, relatives and P.O.F.	12 138	79 152	1 062	5 740	—	—	—	2 066	2 334	2 342	2 005	1 456	915	481	290	249	3 248
Couple, relatives and P.O.F.	2 525	11 906	—	—	—	—	—	1 502	582	254	101	53	18	4	7	4	54
Couple, children, relatives and P.O.F.	7 934	58 069	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 274	1 792	1 738	1 319	855	453	268	235	3 056
Head of household, children, relatives and P.O.F.	1 469	8 106	1 029	5 573	—	—	—	470	415	266	158	77	37	24	15	7	95
Head of household, father and mother, relatives and P.O.F.	25	140	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	6	1	1	1	—	—	—	—
Head of household, father or mother, relatives and P.O.F.	185	931	33	167	—	—	—	94	47	24	7	6	4	—	—	3	43
Non-family households	524 656	700 269	344 284	440 704	402 900	89 318	20 713	6 863	2 562	1 153	551	285	130	81	33	67	934
Head of household only	402 900	402 900	274 160	274 160	402 900	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Head of household and relatives	31 853	72 038	17 869	38 953	—	25 758	4 546	1 101	298	101	26	13	5	3	1	1	12
Head of household and P.O.F.	85 900	210 552	50 190	120 122	—	63 560	13 763	4 820	1 890	902	447	240	111	73	30	64	893
P.O.F. : lodgers only	48 180	115 438	33 645	78 819	—	36 546	7 634	2 308	865	405	194	108	52	29	13	26	334
Head of household : relatives and P.O.F.	4 003	14 779	2 065	7 469	—	—	2 404	942	374	150	78	32	14	5	2	2	29
P.O.F. : lodgers only	1 986	7 190	1 255	4 469	—	—	1 253	451	161	65	31	14	8	2	1	—	—

Figure II.VI.1

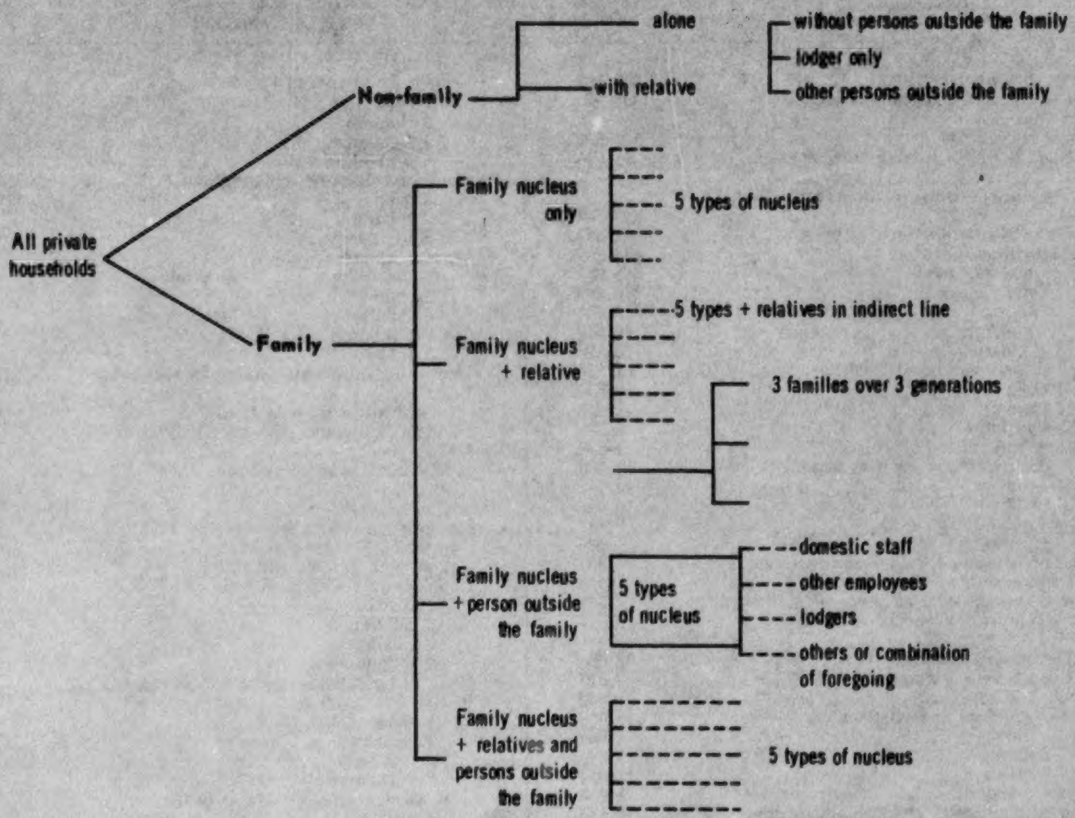
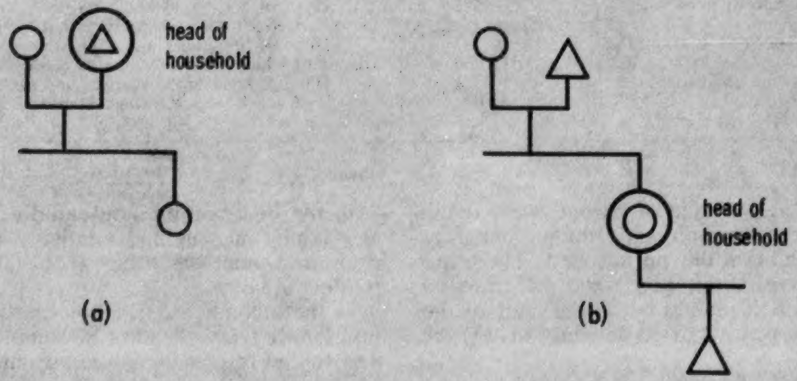

All private households
Non-family
alone
with relative
without persons outside the family
lodger only
other persons outside the family
Family
Family nucleus only
5 types of nucleus
Family nucleus + relative
5 types + relatives in indirect line
3 familles over 3 generations
Family nucleus + person outside the family
5 types of nucleus
domestic staff
other employees
lodgers
others or combination of foregoing
Family nucleus + relatives and persons outside the family
5 types of nucleus

Figure II.VI.2


head of household
head of household

(a) (b)

Table II-VI-3
Private households by age and sex of head of household and by type

Type of household Sex of head of household	Total
Private households	2 051 592
of which with a woman as head	435 900
Family households	1 526 936
of which with a woman as head	91 616
Family nucleus only (without other persons)	1 309 564
of which with a woman as head	72 557
Couple without children	434 798
Couple with children	785 681
1 child	296 593
2 children	283 051
3-4 children	179 479
5 + children	26 558
Head of household and children	81 520
1 child	52 534
2 children	19 358
3-4 children	8 549
5 + children	1 079
of which with a woman as head	69 100
1 child	44 140
2 children	16 625
3-4 children	7 432
5 + children	903
Head of household, father and mother	353
of which with a woman as head	63
Head of household and father or mother	7 212
of which with a woman as head	3 394
Family nucleus and relatives	92 004
of which with a woman as head	7 615
Couple and relatives	21 360
Couple, children and relatives	58 469
1 child	21 860
2 children	17 697
3-4 children	15 054
5 + children	3 858
Head of household, children and relatives	10 136
1 child	6 180
2 children	2 479
3-4 children	1 291
5 + children	186
of which with a woman as head	7 207
1 child	4 411
2 children	1 767
3-4 children	903
5 + children	126
Head of household, father and mother and relatives	192
of which with a woman as head	15
Head of household, father or mother and relatives	1 847
of which with a woman as head	393
Family nucleus and persons outside the family (P.O.F.)	113 230
of which with a woman as head	10 382
Couple and P.O.F.	37 038
Couple, children and P.O.F.	62 135
1 child	21 546
2 children	19 851
3-4 children	17 572
5 + children	3 166
Head of household, children and P.O.F.	13 133
1 child	8 388
2 children	3 105
3-4 children	1 461
5 + children	179
of which with a woman as head	9 985
1 child	6 361
2 children	2 409
3-4 children	1 095
5 + children	120
Head of household, father, mother and P.O.F.	53
of which a woman as head	10
Head of household, father or mother and P.O.F.	871
of which a woman as head	387
Family nucleus and relatives and P.O.F.	12 138
of which a woman as head	1 062
Couple with parents and P.O.F.	2 525
Couple with children, parents and P.O.F.	7 934
1 child	2 493
2 children	2 200
3-4 children	2 444
5 + children	797
Head of household, children, relatives and P.O.F.	1 469
1 child	912
2 children	352
3-4 children	162
5 + children	43
of which with a woman as head	1 029
1 child	644
2 children	246
3-4 children	110
5 + children	29
Head of household, father and mother, relatives and P.O.F.	25
Head of household, father or mother, relatives and P.O.F.	185
of which with a woman as head	33
Non-family households	524 656
of which with a woman as head	344 284
Head of household only	402 900
of which with a woman as head	274 160
Head of household and relatives	31 853
of which with a woman as head	17 869
Head of household and P.O.F.	85 900
of which with a woman as head	50 190
Head of household, relatives and P.O.F.	4 003
of which with a woman as head	2 065

In household (a) a couple of parents were living with an unmarried daughter and another daughter who had three children but no husband. There are three different possibilities here: the self-declared head of the household, might be, *i*) the male of the parent couple, *ii*) the unmarried daughter or, *iii*) the second daughter.

In the first case the household would be classified as « family nucleus and relatives: couple with children and relatives other than father, mother or parents-in-law ».

In the second case, the household would be of the non-family type « head of household and relatives », and in the third case a « family nucleus and relatives : head of household, children and relatives other than father and mother or parents-in-law ». To judge from the tables that follow, it would seem that this problem is avoided by the latest progenitor being automatically selected as head of household, in this instance the unmarried mother, though this formalizes the concept of head of household to a greater degree. However promising the definition might seem, the head of household is not the person who designates himself as such, unless he is already in the right position to do so.

Another shortcoming is that the birth of a child can entirely upset the categories by changing the hierarchy of the household. Thus, in household (a) in the figure II-VI-2 page 117, the daughter has a child and so becomes head of the household, the family moving from the category « family nucleus only : couple with children » to the category « family nucleus and relatives : head of household and children and relatives (father and mother or parents-in-law only) ». This change in category is less disturbing than the change in head of household.

Other shortcomings will be found when children are studied, that is to say when we get closes to the demographic family. Table II-VI-3 takes a first step in this direction.

In order to introduce the number of children in families into the type-classification of households, the many sub-categories in the preceding Table II-VI-2 have been eliminated. Relatives are now no longer differentiated according to whether they are progenitors or collaterals, and persons outside the family are grouped under a single heading. This new typology is much more organised than the earlier one and results from the complete cross-classification of the four categories of family household (nucleus only, nucleus with person outside the family, with relatives, with both) and eight types of nucleus (three new types in addition to the five

Table II-VI-4

Family households by age and number of children of the head and by type of household, age and sex of the head

Age of head of household Type of household	With children under 7 years old		With children under 15 years old		With children under 16 years old		With children under 17 years old		With children under 18 years old	
	Households	Children	Households	Children	Households	Children	Households	Children	Households	Children
Total	452 676	668 899	723 357	1 397 396	751 076	1 474 883	776 328	1 542 762	801 838	1 610 143
Couples running a household	441 041	654 486	690 483	1 346 153	714 954	1 417 604	736 913	1 479 492	758 720	1 540 260
Without other persons	384 544	565 596	599 809	1 151 379	620 803	1 211 923	639 777	1 264 810	658 475	1 316 484
With relatives	24 648	38 483	39 417	83 704	40 978	88 625	42 334	92 781	43 767	97 017
Father and mother or parents-in-law only	12 022	19 303	20 513	46 385	21 345	49 187	21 969	51 396	22 636	53 582
With persons outside the family	28 282	44 242	45 766	97 550	47 447	102 811	48 926	107 128	50 432	111 444
Domestic staff only	5 985	10 113	8 895	21 398	9 099	22 250	9 275	22 904	9 443	23 518
Lodgers only	9 426	13 786	15 461	29 875	16 100	31 558	16 710	33 103	17 363	34 743
With relatives and persons outside the family	3 567	6 165	5 491	13 520	5 726	14 245	5 876	14 773	6 046	15 315
Head of household without spouse	11 635	14 413	32 874	51 243	36 122	57 279	39 415	63 270	43 118	69 883
Without other persons	8 082	9 915	24 203	37 440	26 722	42 041	29 286	46 693	32 150	51 793
With relatives	1 227	1 618	2 971	4 723	3 226	5 251	3 472	5 698	3 759	6 248
Father and mother or parents-in-law only	309	389	1 028	1 615	1 135	1 813	1 229	1 985	1 328	2 184
With persons outside the family	2 136	2 627	5 269	8 354	5 712	9 192	6 159	10 013	6 671	10 895
Domestic staff only	281	389	595	1 138	634	1 230	660	1 299	699	1 375
Lodgers only	868	1 045	2 443	3 645	2 671	4 062	2 923	4 488	3 199	4 955
With relatives and persons outside the family	190	253	431	726	462	795	498	866	538	947
Of which households with a woman as head	9 455	11 720	26 809	41 905	29 431	46 833	32 056	51 666	34 909	56 914
Without other persons	7 226	8 885	20 986	32 698	23 072	36 579	25 168	40 451	27 439	44 616
With relatives	765	1 008	1 943	3 062	2 131	3 436	2 307	3 743	2 517	4 132
Father and mother or parents-in-law only	228	284	762	1 184	844	1 335	915	1 464	997	1 625
With persons outside the family	1 363	1 693	3 609	5 706	3 934	6 332	4 264	6 939	4 610	7 575
Domestic staff only	142	191	291	506	303	541	314	572	330	606
Lodgers only	700	866	2 058	3 154	2 260	3 530	2 474	3 899	2 689	4 287
With relatives and persons outside the family	101	134	271	439	294	486	317	533	343	591

conventional types since the sex of the head of household is taken into account):

- couple without children;
- couple with children;
- male head of household with children;
- female head of household with children;
- male head of household with father and mother;
- female head of household with father and mother;
- male head of household with father or mother;
- female head of household with father or mother.

Hence, as assumed earlier, it is necessarily the parents in three-generation households who are the heads of household and not the grandparents (or else no one designated himself as such, which would be surprising). The three categories with children are split up into four family sizes. In this simpler classification, though, there are still 72 different categories of household. Even so, the data on childhood are not very precise and more specialised tables are necessary.

4. CHILDHOOD AND THE FAMILY

The fact that the description of childhood is so simplified is due to a combination of three difficulties:

- the difficulty of classifying households, as just seen;
- the difficulty of describing families by the age and number of children;
- the difficulty of interrelating the two descriptions by assigning the children to their parents and not to the household as a whole.

Thus, every table contains patent simplifications in one or another of these respects.

To begin with, the Swiss census provides a Table (II-VI-4) in which the population structure is simplified: family households are classified by age of the children of the head of household (under 7 years old, 7-14 years, 15 years, 16 years, 17 years). The description of the household is likewise very simplified and is based on the following approach: the three types of family nucleus with children (couple, man only, woman only) are combined with:

— Presence of relatives	— Father and mother or parents-in-law — Others
— Presence of pers. outside the fam.	— Domestic staff only — Lodgers only — Others
— Relatives and persons outside the family	
— Nucleus only	

The fact that the table gives the number of children in each situation is very useful since this at last makes it possible to reconstruct their point of view or environment.

For example, the column for children under 7 years old reveals some interesting facts. Of the 670 000 young children in all, 85 per cent live in a household consisting solely of the family nucleus of their parents. Almost all the others live in an extended family: 6 per cent in families extended by relatives and 6 per cent with their family nucleus and persons outside the family only. The remaining 14 400 children are brought up by only one of their parents and are apportioned between the family nucleus and extended family as follows:

14 400	Children with father: 2 700	With other persons:	1 700
		Alone:	1 000
	Children with mother: 11 700	With other persons:	2 800
		Alone:	8 900

It will be seen that, unlike mothers on their own with children, most fathers with children live in extended families; and that, while this figure provides a fair description of the child vis-à-vis its parents and the household, it gives no data on sibship. Table II-VI-5 does provide this information but entirely loses the progenitors' point of view. It represents a new way of showing the age of the children both according to their total number and the age groups in which at least one child in the family is. Although this method is quite similar to that used in Belgium, the breakdown is not as fine (three age groups only) but the principle is a little broader (all the possible combinations are taken into account — not only the two-by-two combinations).

This table, too, confirms the phenomena customarily observed in Europe: one-parent households are smaller irrespective of age structure, but the proportion of children whose parents are separated increases rapidly with age — 2 per cent where all the children are under 6 years old, 4.2 per cent where they are under 16, 7.5 per cent where the eldest is between 7 and 15 and 24 per cent where all the children are 16 or over. The size of the families in which children live has become very small. It is not possible with these figures to perform the same calculations as in the case of Norway, and we shall simply indicate the breakdown of family sizes without knowing the number of children in each group:

	1 child	2 children	3 children	4 and over
Children under 7 years old according to the number of siblings	148 000	322 000	249 000	282 000
Percentage	15 %	32 %	25 %	28 %

Table II-VI-5, like the corresponding tables in other censuses, offers the possibility of several points of view on childhood. Caution is called for, however, since not all children are covered. Some children do not show up in the tables because they are not living in private households but in institutions. Others are not counted because they are not the progeny of the head of household but of one of his relatives or of a couple of domestic staff. We do not know the number involved and can only estimate it by reference to the age structure of the census.

5. PERSONS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY AND DOMESTIC STAFF

While the Swiss census is a little too discreet about childhood for our taste, it does give considerable prominance to the « other persons » who live in households with the family nuclei and their relatives. It is worth saying something about these data because they are not usually found in other censuses. First, we have an overall breakdown of the persons concerned :

	1960	1970
Private households with domestic staff :		
Total	70 674	28 728
1 employee	63 281	26 789
2 employees	6 240	1 700
3 employees or more	1 153	239
Private households with lodgers :		
Total	229 853	157 895
1 lodger	101 564	86 440
2 lodgers	58 646	36 104
3 lodgers	8 164	15 960
4 lodgers or more	41 209	19 391

It will be seen that large numbers of persons are involved and also that they have diminished rapidly over the ten years. Table II-VI-6 provides a highly detailed classification of the distribution of domestic staff. Half of them are found in families with young

Table II-VI-5

Family households by number and age of children

Children's age groups	Family and households with children, total		Households with ... children					
			1	2	3	4	5 and over	
	Households	Children					Households	Children
Total	1 020 477	2 050 153	410 506	348 093	164 550	61 462	35 866	203 963
All children 0-6 years	272 741	426 334	147 636	100 545	21 076	3 083	401	2 048
All children 7-15 years	185 468	339 026	76 936	73 161	27 371	6 587	1 413	7 307
All children 16 years or over	269 401	375 848	185 934	64 970	14 906	2 889	702	3 700
Some children 0-6 years, some 7-15 years	156 744	476 832	—	59 021	56 627	25 730	15 366	85 989
Some children 0-6 years, some 16 years or over	5 132	13 342	—	2 790	1 742	489	111	580
Some children 7-15 years, some 16 years or over	112 932	332 545	—	47 606	38 469	17 378	9 479	52 414
Children in all three age groups	18 059	86 226	—	—	4 359	5 306	8 394	51 925
Married couples with children	914 219	1 886 110	342 492	322 799	155 830	58 719	34 379	195 654
All children 0-6 years	265 745	417 488	142 254	99 144	20 883	3 066	398	2 033
All children 7-15 years	169 901	315 345	67 509	68 619	26 086	6 328	1 359	7 028
All children 16 years or over	199 265	284 039	132 729	51 760	11 963	2 296	517	2 717
Some children 0-6 years, some 7-15 years	153 091	466 678	—	57 198	55 473	25 278	15 142	84 751
Some children 0-6 years, some 16 years or over	4 740	12 349	—	2 550	1 640	446	104	545
Some children 7-15 years, some 16 years or over	104 012	306 692	—	43 528	35 609	16 160	8 715	48 169
Children in all three age groups	17 465	83 519	—	—	4 176	5 145	8 144	50 411
Individuals with children	106 258	164 043	68 014	25 294	8 720	2 743	1 487	8 309
All children 0-6 years	6 996	8 846	5 382	1 401	193	17	3	15
All children 7-15 years	15 567	23 681	9 427	4 542	1 285	259	54	279
All children 16 years or over	70 136	91 809	53 205	13 210	2 943	593	185	983
Some children 0-6 years, some 7-15 years	3 653	10 154	—	1 823	1 154	452	224	1 238
Some children 0-6 years, some 16 years or over	392	993	—	240	102	43	7	35
Some children 7-15 years, some 16 years or over	8 920	25 853	—	4 078	2 860	1 218	764	4 245
Children in all three age groups	594	2 707	—	—	183	161	250	1 514

Table II-VI-6
Private households by number of domestic staff and type and size of household

Type and size of household	Total	Number of domestic staff							
		Total		1	2	3	4	5 and over	
		Households	Domestic staff					Households	Domestic staff
Total private households	2 051 592	27 715	28 728	26 789	850	67	8	1	6
Of 1 person	402 900	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Of 2 persons	583 862	4 920	4 920	4 920	»	»	»	»	»
Of 3 persons	395 318	4 247	4 340	4 154	93	»	»	»	»
Of 4 persons	346 897	3 886	4 065	3 714	165	7	»	»	»
Of 5 persons	181 070	5 103	5 275	4 947	142	12	2	»	»
Of 6 persons or more	141 545	9 559	10 128	9 054	450	48	6	1	6
With children under 16 years old	751 076	13 721	14 145	13 333	355	30	3	—	—
1 child	302 606	3 261	3 374	3 158	94	8	1	—	—
2 children	267 951	4 670	4 812	4 543	114	11	2	—	—
3 children	118 898	3 394	3 497	3 299	87	8	—	—	—
4 children or more	61 621	2 396	2 462	2 333	60	3	—	—	—
Head of household working in agriculture	106 247	2 508	2 552	2 464	44	—	—	—	—
With agricultural workers	8 243	1 015	1 041	989	26	—	—	—	—
Family households	1 526 936	20 851	21 641	20 127	667	50	6	1	6
Of 2 persons	494 544	»	»	»	»	»	»	»	»
Of 3 persons	374 605	3 031	3 031	3 031	»	»	»	»	»
Of 4 persons	340 034	3 449	3 572	3 326	123	»	»	»	»
Of 5 persons	178 508	4 935	5 069	4 809	118	8	»	»	»
Of 6 persons or more	139 245	9 436	9 969	8 961	426	42	6	1	6
Couple without children	495 721	3 471	3 675	3 284	174	11	1	1	6
Both spouses are economically active or non-active independent persons	203 662	1 350	1 416	1 289	57	3	1	—	—
Couple with children under 16 years old	714 954	12 806	13 204	12 441	335	27	3	—	—
1 child	281 046	2 864	2 962	2 774	83	6	1	—	—
2 children	258 056	4 357	4 492	4 237	107	11	2	—	—
3 children	115 589	3 259	3 358	3 167	85	7	—	—	—
4 children or more	60 263	2 326	2 392	2 263	60	3	—	—	—
Both spouses are economically active or non-active independent persons	189 287	5 947	6 118	5 789	147	9	2	—	—

children (while these families themselves account for only one third of the total). However, very few children are brought up with domestic staff (slightly less than 2 %). The lower part of the table provides the same data for situations in which the head of household is an alien. The proportion of domestic staff is smaller in this case and more unevenly distributed. This reflects the heterogeneous composition of the alien category, i.e. there are immigrant workers but also wealthy foreigners. In addition to the attention paid to « persons outside the family », the Swiss census shows an obsessive interest in aliens as such and tables are very often in two versions : one for the population as a whole and the other for all aliens. Thus we have a means of ascertaining the conditions of their family life. For example, there is a table identical to II-VI-5 but for aliens, which shows a very considerable difference in age structure : households consisting of aliens are much younger on average. So, proportionately, these households have more young children and fewer children of all ages.

These last data bring us to the end of our examination of the results of the Swiss census, which is one of the most original with its classification of the family centred entirely on the head of family.

Chapter VII

COMPOSITION OF LUXEMBOURG HOUSEHOLDS

Like many small countries, Luxembourg publishes fairly detailed statistics on « households and the family » (Volume 3 of the 1970 Population Census).

Luxembourg is a country where two cultures meet, and understandably we find two classifications of the family. One distinguishes between generations and is concerned with the family life-cycle, as we will see in the German censuses. It is not suitable for linking households with families. The second classification is more Latin and Anglo-Saxon in conception. It treats the family as a homogeneous subdivision of the household, so bringing us a step nearer to the individual.

These two ways of examining the household are presented here and they blend without much difficulty.

1. HOUSEHOLDS

These are defined, as in Belgium, as a number of persons « having their usual residence in the same dwelling and having a common life ».

The *de jure* population is established in a family perspective since servants, non-manual workers and manual workers who live with their employers but return once a week to their own household are counted as part of that household.

As usual, a distinction is made between private and institutional households.

Table II-VII-1 presents the trend of private household size since the beginning of the century. Here, the proportional distribution shows how each size category grows, reaches a peak and then diminishes as, later, the households becomes smaller. We can see, then, that the gradual decline in large families or multi-generation households is not a recent phenomenon but a secular trend. Six-person households were most strongly represented in 1900, 5-person households in 1910 and 4-person households in 1935, and even 3-person households begin to diminish proportionally in 1966.

This extreme fragmentation of the population is reflected in the type classification of households shown in Table II-VII-2, which breaks down household size into 11 major groups, but a more detailed classification will be found in other Tables (II-VII-3 for example). The principle of this latter classification is very simple. Five types of family are combined with the presence or absence of related or unrelated persons, which gives :

A : Single person ;
B : Married couple with no children ;
C : Married couple with unmarried children ;

Table II-VII-1

Private households by number of persons
1900-1970

Years	Private households with the following number of persons										
	1 person	2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	6 persons	7 persons	8 persons	9 persons	10 persons	11 persons or more
	Percentage of total										
1900	6.5	13.6	15.8	15.9	14.3	11.5	8.7	5.6	3.4	2.0	2.7
1905	6.1	14.7	16.5	16.5	14.4	11.4	8.2	5.5	3.1	1.8	1.8
1910	7.0	14.5	16.5	16.8	14.6	11.5	7.9	5.1	3.0	1.6	1.5
1927	5.5	17.6	21.0	19.5	14.4	9.3	5.6	3.3	1.7	0.9	1.2
1930	5.8	18.3	22.0	19.8	13.9	9.1	5.5	2.7	1.5	0.7	0.7
1935	6.7	20.0	23.7	20.1	13.2	7.7	4.3	2.2	1.1	0.6	0.4
1947	8.8	22.3	24.4	19.4	11.9	6.5	3.3	1.6	0.8	0.5	0.5
1960	11.5	27.0	24.7	18.1	10.0	4.8	2.2	1.0	0.4	— 0.3 —	
1966	13.0	26.7	23.6	18.7	10.0	4.5	1.9	0.9	0.4	0.3	
1970	15.7	27.0	22.0	18.0	9.4	4.3	1.8	0.8	0.3	0.2	

Table II-VII-2

Private households by type of household according to size, number of households and number of persons

Whole country

Type of household	All sizes	Size of household (number of persons in the household)									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 or more
		Number of households									
All types											
absolute	108 498	17 070	29 396	23 892	19 588	10 235	4 720	2 027	893	352	325
percentages	100.0	15.7	27.0	22.0	18.0	9.4	4.3	1.8	0.8	0.3	0.2
Non-family households											
1-person household	17 070	17 070	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Household consisting only of related persons	1 851	—	1 523	254	63	7	3	1	—	—	—
Household consisting only of unrelated persons	1 876	—	1 489	178	79	31	24	18	33	4	20
Household consisting of related and unrelated persons	141	—	—	93	27	10	2	2	4	1	2
Family households											
Married couple (1)	22 390	—	22 390	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Parent(s) with unmarried child(ren) (2)	48 166	—	3 535	19 889	15 203	6 116	2 099	765	304	142	113
Parent(s) with married child(ren) with or without unmarried child(ren) (3)	2 737	—	459	1 445	618	152	35	19	5	1	3
Parent(s) with married child(ren) and with grand-child(ren) with or without unmarried child(ren) (4)	7 198	—	—	218	2 006	2 438	1 549	640	231	73	43
Household types 1, 2, 3, 4 with related person(s)	4 012	—	—	1 025	920	894	575	310	166	64	58
Household types 1, 2, 3, 4 with unrelated person(s)	2 827	—	—	790	630	549	385	235	127	49	62
Household types 1, 2, 3, 4 with related and unrelated person(s)	230	—	—	—	42	38	48	37	23	18	24
		Number of persons									
All types											
absolute numbers	333 550	17 070	58 792	71 676	78 352	51 175	28 320	14 189	7 144	3 168	3 664
percentages	100.0	5.1	17.6	21.4	23.4	15.3	8.4	4.2	2.1	0.9	1.0
Non-family households											
1-person household	17 070	17 070	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Household consisting only of related persons	4 120	—	3 046	762	252	35	18	7	—	—	—
Household consisting only of unrelated persons	4 829	—	2 978	534	316	155	144	126	264	36	276
Household consisting of related and unrelated persons	527	—	—	279	108	50	12	14	32	9	23
Family households											
Married couple (1)	44 780	—	44 780	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Parent(s) with unmarried child(ren) (2)	181 016	—	7 070	59 667	60 812	30 580	12 594	5 355	2 432	1 278	1 228
Parent(s) with married child(ren) with or without unmarried child(ren) (3)	8 915	—	918	4 335	2 472	760	210	133	40	9	38
Parent(s) with married child(ren) and with grandchild(ren) with or without unmarried children (4)	37 609	—	—	654	8 024	12 190	9 294	4 480	1 848	657	462
Household types 1, 2, 3, 4 with related person(s)	19 367	—	—	3 075	3 680	4 470	3 450	2 170	1 328	576	618
Household types 1, 2, 3, 4 with unrelated person(s)	13 788	—	—	2 370	2 520	2 745	2 310	1 645	1 016	441	741
Household types 1, 2, 3, 4 with related and unrelated person(s)	1 529	—	—	—	168	190	288	259	184	162	278

Table II-VII-3

Households in general, private households and institutional households by type of household, number of households and number of persons

Whole country

Type of household	Number of households		Number of persons			
			Residents		Resident and non-resident persons	
	Absolute numbers	Percentages	Absolute numbers	Percentages	Absolute numbers	Percentages
Households in general	108 667	100.0	339 841	100.0	—	—
Private households	108 498	99.8	333 550	98.1	—	—
Institutional households	169	0.2	6 291	1.9	—	—
Private households	108 498	100.0	333 550	100.0	—	—
Non-family households	20 938	19.3	26 546	8.0	—	—
1-person households	17 070	15.7	17 070	5.1	—	—
Households consisting only of related persons	1 851	1.7	4 120	1.2	—	—
Households consisting only of unrelated persons	1 876	1.7	4 829	1.4	—	—
Households consisting of related and unrelated persons	141	0.1	527	0.2	—	—
Family households	87 560	80.7	307 004	92.0	—	—
Married couple (1)	22 390	20.6	44 780	13.4	—	—
Parent(s) with unmarried child(ren) (2)	48 166	44.4	181 016	54.3	—	—
Parent(s) with married child(ren) with or without unmarried child(ren) (3)	2 737	2.5	8 915	2.7	—	—
Parent(s) with married child(ren) and grandchild(ren) (4)	7 198	6.6	37 609	11.3	—	—
Household types 1, 2, 3, 4 with related persons	4 012	3.7	19 367	5.8	—	—
— Type 1 plus related persons	920	0.8	2 892	0.9	—	—
— Type 2 plus related persons	2 401	2.2	12 075	3.6	—	—
— Type 3 plus related persons	140	0.1	659	0.2	—	—
— Type 4 plus related persons	551	0.5	3 741	1.1	—	—
Household types 1, 2, 3, 4 with unrelated persons	2 827	2.6	13 788	4.1	—	—
— Type 1 plus unrelated persons	476	0.4	1 628	0.5	—	—
— Type 2 plus unrelated persons	1 892	1.7	9 345	2.8	—	—
— Type 3 plus unrelated persons	126	0.1	592	0.2	—	—
— Type 4 plus unrelated persons	333	0.3	2 223	0.7	—	—
Household types 1, 2, 3, 4 with related and unrelated persons	230	0.2	1 529	0.5	—	—
— Type 1 plus related and unrelated persons	40	0.0	183	0.1	—	—
— Type 2 plus related and unrelated persons	134	0.1	900	0.3	—	—
— Type 3 plus related and unrelated persons	12	0.0	78	0.0	—	—
— Type 4 plus related and unrelated persons	44	0.0	368	0.1	—	—
Institutional households	169	100.0	6 291	100.0	8 734	100.0
Boarding schools and halls of residence	21	12.4	367	5.8	386	4.4
Social service institutions (children or the elderly)	45	26.6	3 117	49.5	3 402	39.0
Institutions for sick persons	34	20.1	1 530	24.3	3 326	38.1
Religious institutions	59	34.9	727	11.6	754	8.6
Military institutions	1	0.6	353	5.6	353	4.0
Reformatory and penitentiary institutions	5	3.0	52	0.8	330	3.8
Other institutions	4	2.4	145	2.3	183	2.1

D: Parents with married children and other children;

E: Parents with married children and grandchildren with or without children.

Each type is shown:

1. Alone;
2. With related persons;
3. With unrelated persons;
4. With both of the above.

Table II-VII-3 can thus be recomposed to show the number of persons in each configuration.

	1	2	3	4	Total
A	17 070	4 120	4 829	527	26 596
B	44 780	2 892	1 628	183	49 483
C	181 016	12 075	9 345	900	203 336
D	8 915	659	592	78	10 244
E	37 609	3 741	2 223	368	43 941
Total	289 390	23 487	18 617	2 056	

This classification is too simple from the family standpoint but very comprehensive from that of the household, for which the distinction between families in the narrow sense, families in the broad sense, and strangers to the family can prove important (although these headings are fairly legal in that they exclude unmarried couples living together as man and wife, for example). The concept of family that emerges from the five types also shows the progression from one-generation to multi-generation families; this is a well-regulated progression since the childless couple is intermediate between n and n + 1 generations.

The figures themselves confirm the decline of extended households but not their disappearance. It is not possible to get an exact idea of their number since they are mixed in with restricted households (in type D, for example, there are either single parents with their married children or parent couples with children couples). In order to know more about this, the families in the household must be analysed.

Table II-VII-4

Family nuclei by type of family and by marriage status of the head of family according to number of unmarried children

Whole country

Type of family nucleus Marriage status and sex of head of family	Total family nuclei	Family nuclei with ... unmarried children											Children[1]	
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	In nucleus of 10 children or more	Total
All types	116 346	54 257	28 681	20 387	8 370	2 867	1 045	406	187	80	33	33	355	116 295
Complete families														
Married couple with no children	28 939	28 939	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Married couple with unmarried child(ren)[2]	53 733	—	23 189	18 575	7 703	2 636	954	370	172	72	32	30	324	103 374
Married couple with no child(ren), but with unmarried grandchild(ren)	139	—	121	12	4	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	166
Incomplete families														
Remaining member of childless couple	25 294	25 294	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
of whom														
Separated (husband)	2 991	2 991	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Separated (wife)	1 065	1 065	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Widower	4 105	4 105	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Widow	14 956	14 956	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Divorced (husband)	1 085	1 085	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Divorced (wife)	1 092	1 092	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Remaining member of couple with child(ren) and/or unmarried grandchild(ren)	7 913	—	5 135	1 753	651	224	89	34	15	8	1	3	31	12 348
of whom														
Separated (husband)	273	—	184	63	17	6	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	400
Separated (wife)	917	—	514	254	98	33	7	6	2	1	—	2	21	1 562
Widower	1 069	—	709	215	91	27	17	4	1	5	—	—	—	1 676
Widow	4 795	—	3 162	1 034	386	128	50	22	9	2	1	1	10	7 380
Divorced (husband)	180	—	123	40	9	7	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	263
Divorced (wife)	679	—	443	147	50	23	11	2	3	—	—	—	—	1 067
Unmarried women with unmarried child(ren)	328	24[3]	236	47	12	6	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	407

1. And/or grandchildren.
2. This type also includes married couples with unmarried child(ren) and grandchild(ren), provided the parents of these grandchildren do not live in the same household.
3. These twenty-four unmarried women live with their children, who themselves form family nuclei.

Table II-VII-5

Family nuclei according to number of family nuclei per private household and according to type of family nucleus, by marriage status and sex of the head of family, and according to type of private household

Whole country

Type of family nucleus	Marriage status	Sex of head of family	All types	Type of private household										
				Non-family households				Family households						
				H 11	H 12	H 13	H 14	H 21	H 22	H 23	H 24	H 25	H 26	H 27
				Number of family nuclei in household with one family nucleus										
Family nuclei in households with one family nucleus	All	T	87 502	11 596	486	748	21	22 390	48 166	—	—	2 491	1 507	97
		M	72 749	2 684	137	279	8	22 390	43 664	—	—	2 292	1 207	88
		W	14 753	8 912	349	469	13	—	4 502	—	—	199	300	9
Complete families														
Married couple with no unmarried child	H	M	23 439	—	—	—	—	22 390	—	—	—	697	326	26
Married couple with unmarried child(ren) and possibly unmarried grandchild(ren)	H	M	44 985	—	—	—	—	—	42 594	—	—	1 532	800	59
Married couple with unmarried grandchild(ren)	H	M	129	—	—	—	—	—	126	—	—	2	1	—
Incomplete families														
Unmarried women with no unmarried child	U	W	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Separated persons with no unmarried child	S	M	1 083	886	41	152	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		W	512	396	19	94	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Widow(er)s with no unmarried child	W	M	1 631	1 470	80	78	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		W	8 639	8 029	300	302	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Divorced persons with no unmarried child	D	M	394	328	16	49	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		W	592	487	30	73	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Separated persons with unmarried child(ren)	S	M	149	—	—	—	—	—	130	—	—	3	16	—
		W	534	—	—	—	—	—	424	—	—	14	95	1
Widow(er)s with unmarried child	W	M	840	—	—	—	—	—	746	—	—	55	37	2
		W	3 914	—	—	—	—	—	3 597	—	—	167	143	7
Divorced persons with unmarried child(ren)	D	M	99	—	—	—	—	—	68	—	—	3	27	1
		W	396	—	—	—	—	—	339	—	—	8	48	1
Unmarried women + unmarried child(ren)	U	W	166	—	—	—	—	—	142	—	—	10	14	—
				Number of family nuclei in households with two family nuclei										
Family nuclei in households with two family nuclei	All	T	25 992	—	368	1 154	38	—	—	5 410	14 020	2 678	2 142	182
		M	17 663	—	124	602	21	—	—	3 596	9 849	1 916	1 418	137
		W	8 329	—	244	552	17	—	—	1 814	4 171	762	724	45
Complete families														
Married couple with no unmarried child	H	M	5 096	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 556	1 729	513	273	25
Married couple with unmarried child(ren) and possibly unmarried grandchild(ren)	H	M	8 329	—	—	—	—	—	—	236	6 627	943	457	66
Married couple with unmarried grandchild(ren)	H	M	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	4	1	3	—
Incomplete families														
Unmarried women with no unmarried child	U	W	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Separated persons with no unmarried child	S	M	1 011	—	34	278	10	—	—	239	28	106	295	21
		W	469	—	22	112	9	—	—	157	59	31	77	2
Widow(er)s with no unmarried child	W	M	2 266	—	73	167	7	—	—	358	1 251	272	122	16
		W	5 881	—	200	313	6	—	—	1 375	3 181	563	218	25
Divorced persons with no unmarried child	D	M	559	—	17	157	4	—	—	175	10	43	148	5
		W	435	—	22	127	2	—	—	154	52	24	51	3
Separated persons with unmarried child(ren)	S	M	105	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	45	9	50	—
		W	332	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	207	16	103	3
Widow(er)s with unmarried child	W	M	213	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	114	25	42	3
		W	823	—	—	—	—	—	—	116	449	108	141	9
Divorced persons with unmarried child(ren)	D	M	74	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	41	4	28	1
		W	252	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	155	11	79	3
Unmarried women + unmarried child(ren)	U	W	137	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	68	9	55	—
				Number of family nuclei in households with three or more family nuclei										
Family nuclei in households with three or more family nuclei	All	T	2 852	—	12	587	75	—	—	96	570	554	817	141
		M	2 102	—	8	544	67	—	—	65	375	355	590	98
		W	750	—	4	43	8	—	—	31	195	199	227	43
Complete families														
Married couple with no unmarried child	H	M	404	—	—	—	—	—	—	38	168	86	93	19
Married couple with unmarried child(ren) and possibly unmarried grandchild(ren)	H	M	419	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	128	136	128	25
Married couple with unmarried grandchild(ren)	H	M	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Incomplete families														
Unmarried women with no unmarried child	U	W	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Separated persons with no unmarried child	S	M	897	—	7	506	60	—	—	10	13	37	233	31
		W	84	—	—	12	—	—	—	3	11	17	36	5
Widow(er)s with no unmarried child	W	M	208	—	—	19	5	—	—	6	48	65	54	11
		W	436	—	3	21	6	—	—	16	137	141	91	21
Divorced persons with no unmarried child	D	M	132	—	1	19	2	—	—	9	9	18	66	8
		W	65	—	1	10	2	—	—	10	6	13	19	4
Separated persons with unmarried child(ren)	S	M	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1	12	2
		W	51	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14	8	23	6
Widow(er)s with unmarried child	W	M	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	8	3	1
		W	58	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	14	15	22	5
Divorced persons with unmarried child(ren)	D	M	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	1	1
		W	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	3	20	1
Unmarried women + unmarried child(ren)	U	W	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	2	16	1

2. FAMILIES

These are identified at census analysis level by reconstituting the links of individuals with the head of household and using a series of indicators such as age or surname when these links are insufficient.

Whereas the type classification of the household was simple and regular, that of the family is strange and reminiscent of the method used in Federal Germany: it is not the family present that is considered but the present state of the family, which can thus be reduced to one person. The following are accordingly differentiated:

Complete families :

F1 — Married couple with no children ;
F2 — Married couple with unmarried children or grandchildren if their parents do not live in the household ;
F3 — Married couple with no children but with grandchildren.

Incomplete families :

F4 — Remaining member of a couple with no children (with subcategories of separated, widowed and divorced persons) ;
F5 — Remaining member of a couple *with* unmarried children and/or grandchildren (divided into separated, widowed and divorced) ;
F6 — Unmarried woman with unmarried children. (separated here means all married persons who are separated in law or in fact.)

The German classification could be obtained from these six categories by differentiating in F4 and F5 between separated persons and widowed or divorced persons and adding unmarried persons who do not belong to a family.

These family types are distributed according to size in Table II-VII-4. Since the distinction between men and women is made for the type « remaining member », we finally have 16 family types. It will be noted that 11 per cent of children live in incomplete families, which would suggest that a very small minority of young children are in this position.

3. THE FAMILY WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD

In every case where the household and family nomenclatures are based on different principles, the distribution of families within households is of great interest. This distribution is given here in some detail (Table II-VII-5) since the type of family (15 groups) is combined with the type of household (11 groups) and the number of family nuclei present in the household (1, 2, 3 or more). Such a classification is condensed in Table II-VII-6, where the number of family nuclei is considered, not the type of household.

Analysis of Table II-VII-5 is somewhat difficult since unrelated and unmarried persons do not come into it. In spite, too, of the wealth of detail offered, we are still far from the complete family structure : we do not know the nature of the nuclei in multinuclear families and it is not always possible to reconstitute them. Furthermore, the number of blank spaces shows that the cross-referencing of structures is not very effective. However, it is possible to make many partial aggregations which give a better idea of the standpoints we wish to highlight. It would be useful if children could be classified in this grid, but there is no data of that kind. The tables that consider children within the family or household are conventional :

Table II-VII-6

Population of private households, number of households and number of family nuclei according to size of household, and distribution of private households according to number of family nuclei per household

(Whole country — urban and rural regions)

Size of household	Private household population	Number of private households with ... family nuclei					Number of family nuclei
		In general	0	1	2	3 or more	
				Whole country			
All private households	333 550	108 498	7 167	87 502	12 996	833	116 346
Private households comprising :							
1 person	17 070	17 070	5 474	11 596	—	—	11 596
2 persons	58 792	29 396	1 299	26 969	1 128	—	29 225
3 persons	71 676	23 892	285	21 294	2 252	61	25 981
4 persons	78 352	19 588	82	16 274	3 124	108	22 854
5 persons	51 175	10 235	15	7 009	3 041	170	13 611
6 persons	28 320	4 720	7	2 621	1 934	158	6 988
7 persons	14 189	2 027	2	1 011	884	130	3 186
8 persons	7 144	893	2	410	385	96	1 548
9 persons	3 168	352	1	170	149	32	580
10 persons or more	3 664	325	—	148	99	78	777

Table II-VII-7
Distribution of children by type of family

	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34
In complete family	22 397	24 218	23 257	19 413	9 560	2 580	1 009
In incomplete family	809	1 380	2 003	2 477	1 970	1 065	675

	31-34	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65 +
In complete family	518	348	154	47	14	12	13
In incomplete family	637	691	466	280	183	84	35

4. CHILDREN

A few simple breakdowns will give us some respite from the preceding tables and show the overall situation of children in families. Independently of their age, they are distributed as follows :

F2		103 374
F3		166
F5	separated	1 962
	widowed	9 056
	divorced	1 330
F6		407

The picture seems to be one of a rather austere society since the only large group next to the complete nuclear family consists of widowers and widows, who probably live with their comparatively old children. This impression is confirmed by the age distribution of children according to whether they are in a complete or incomplete family (Table II-VII-7).

Only 3.5 per cent of children under 5 live in an incomplete family. The proportion is 17 per cent between 20 and 24 years of age. Beyond that age they come to predominate as their parents eventually die.

However, the situation in the family does not exactly reflect actual living conditions since the household is where the child is really placed. We have no direct figures on the distribution of children by type of household and can only know their relationship to the head of household :

	Child of head of household	Grand-children or great grand-children	Related	Unrelated	Institu-tion
0 - 4 years	21 363	1 640	132	231	166
5 - 9 years	24 260	1 156	145	233	192
10 - 14 years	24 346	743	170	217	172

An unexpected but logical fact is that they become direct descendants of the head of household in increasing numbers as they grow older : 91.4 per cent between 0 and 4 years, 94.1 per cent between 5 and 9 years, and 95.6 per cent between 10 and 14 years. This is explained by the death of grandparent heads of household, but no doubt also by the fact that young couples live temporarily with one of their families of origin, a notable feature in the household life-cycle.

5. FAMILIES ACCORDING TO AGE OF CHILDREN

We conclude by examining the means chosen by the Luxembourg authorities to describe the age breakdown of siblings. It is one of the most elementary of methods : number of children under 6, 16 or 25 present in the family according to type of family, but the interest derives from the detailed typology of families (9 groups), which confirms the rough idea given by the age distribution of the children. Widowhood is more often responsible for the dissolution of the parent couple than divorce. Although their absolute number is very small, the proportion of unmarried mothers diminishes with the age of the children, which seems to point to legitimations since the rate of illegitimacy has varied very little since the war (and is still the lowest in Europe).

An alternative to this distribution of children is also used in Luxembourg. Children are counted according to their presence in *only* one age-group or *at least* one age-group.

The Luxembourg census uses a third method (Tables II-VII-8) which gives a similar result : the age of the last child. The breakdown is no longer made according to families but for a few categories of parents, according to whether they work or not or their civil status.

These last two tables complete the description of children and the family in Luxembourg. There were many other viewpoints from which we could have examined them, but the most extensive of the tables by themselves already permit a number of useful comparisons. One possibility for example is to consider the increasing risk in certain situations and the progressive concentration of certain configurations.

Table II-VII-8a

Working women

Age of youngest child according to family size	Married	Unmarried	Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Total
0 children in the family	4 912	3	640	1 108	647	7 310
1 child	3 411	174	340	504	335	4 768
0- 5 years	1 209	89	112	13	46	1 469
6-15 years	1 093	46	130	91	158	1 518
16-24 years	1 109	39	102	400	131	1 781
2 children	2 488	33	153	228	47	3 019
0- 5 years	906	12	48	17	18	997
6-15 years	1 194	15	81	89	78	1 457
16-24 years	390	6	76.	122	21	565
3 children	970	6	51	96	33	1 156
0- 5 years	384	3	17	3	7	414
6-15 years	494	3	32	43	21	593
16-24 years	92	0	2	50	5	149
4 children	292	2	16	23	13	346
0- 5 years	118	1	6	3	6	134
6-15 years	161	1	10	16	6	194
16-24 years	13	0	0	4	1	18
5 children or more	152	6	7	14	6	179
0- 5 years	76	0	1	4	3	84
6-15 years	74	0	6	9	3	92
16-24 years	2	0	0	1	0	3
Total	12 225	218	1 211	1 973	1 151	16 778

Table II-VII-8b

Non-working women

Age of youngest child according to family size	Married	Unmarried	Separated	Widowed	Divorced	Total
0 children in the family	24 027	21	425	13 848	445	8 766
1 child	19 899	62	171	2 658	108	22 898
0- 5 years	6 043	18	48	19	18	6 146
6-15 years	5 657	8	43	175	32	5 915
16-24 years	8 199	36	80	2 464	58	10 837
2 children	16 099	14	100	806	30	17 049
0- 5 years	6 272	9	35	39	10	6 365
6-15 years	7 080	3	33	220	15	7 351
16-24 years	2 747	2	32	547	5	3 333
3 children	6 737	6	47	290	17	7 097
0- 5 years	3 038	4	24	25	7	3 098
6-15 years	3 119	2	21	132	10	3 284
16-24 years	580	0	2	133	0	715
4 children	2 345	4	17	105	10	2 481
0- 5 years	1 246	2	11	26	5	1 290
6-15 years	996	2	5	50	5	1 058
16-24 years	103	0	1	29	0	133
5 children or more	1 479	3	11	71	10	1 574
0- 5 years	925	3	8	23	7	966
6-15 years	526	0	3	38	3	570
16-24 years	28	0	1	10	0	38
Total	70 586	110	771	17 778	620	110 964

Chapter VIII

GERMANY : FAMILY AND PROGENITORS

Three sections of the 1970 census published by the Federal Office of Statistics in Wiesbaden deal with matters relating to childhood :

- No. 8 Population of households (1974) ;
- No. 9 Population of families (1974) ;
- No. 10 Children and young people in families (1974).

In the first of these sections families are not considered and just the conventional data on households are given ; the third section provides details of the composition of restricted families ; but in the second we find the two concepts of household and family are interlinked for the first time.

Unfortunately, the data cannot be extrapolated to other countries as the classification of household and family classifications are very different from those we have examined. What we find is neither a conventional system of family nuclei nor a central organisation around the head of household, but the two concepts combined in a third approach that turns on counting the number of generations in the household — 1, 2, 3 or 4, as the case may be.

Another special feature of the German census is the way in which the de jure population is defined : an individual may belong to more than one household but to only one family. These points will be clarified as we take a closer look at the definitions and their implications.

1. Definition of the household and the family

In order to appreciate the originality of the definition of populations in the German census we must think of the concepts customarily used in other countries. In France, for instance, an individual is either a member of the population enumerated on the households schedule or a member of the population « comptée à part », the latter being found in the following three types of institutional community :

I.	Boarders in « gymnasium », colleges, etc., Military personnel in barracks, Persons receiving treatment in sanatoria, etc., Workers housed on building-sites.
II.	Persons receiving treatment in psychiatric hospitals.
III.	Prisoners in custody, etc., Minors in approved schools, Persons staying in accommodation centres and night shelters

Individuals in category I who have a personal residence in France are enumerated twice : they are counted at their institutions and at their residences for the purpose of ascertaining the *de jure* population of the communes, which therefore consists of :

De jure population =
Population of ordinary households + population of institutions located in the commune (institutional households + population « comptée à part ») + persons counted in category I who have their residence in this commune.

Since the individuals in the latter group are counted twice, territorial re-grouping would rapidly become difficult and require separate totalizations for category I. This is avoided by defining a population without double counts. The individuals in category I are then counted only at their personal residence if they have one, otherwise at their institution. This gives :

De jure population =
Population without double counts + members of category I who have a personal residence and whose institution is located in the commune.

This distinction is the outcome of the earlier concepts of « actual population » and « resident population ».

From the end of the 19th century individuals were differentiated according to their usual residence and their dwelling on census day, and the following two populations were counted :

Actual population	present-in-area population institutional population transient visitors

Resident population { present-in-area residents
institutional population
absent residents

The shifting of these concepts towards that of the *de jure* population has given greater weight to the resident population, necessitating comparable treatment for institutional populations which, in a manner of speaking, are present but not necessarily resident.

The purpose of double counting is partly economic : a boarding school pupil is a dependant of both the school and his parents, so it is inaccurate to count him under one heading only.

In 1961 Germany extended this economic reasoning to all persons enumerated so that, like the boarding school pupil, every person present on German territory on census day may belong to more than one household.

This attitude, which is consistent with economic logic, gives rise to two difficulties. The first is technical in that the census enumeration unit is the household and not the individual, which means that individuals with more than one residence must declare them, but also that those individuals must be declared by their companions in the residence(s) in which they are not present on census day. The second difficulty is theoretical in that households whose members are sometimes counted several times must then be articulated with families whose members are counted only once. In face of this the German census authorities developed three population concepts by identifying three categories of individuals :

A : persons who have only one residence ;
B : persons who have their main residence in the commune but also have other residences ;
C : persons who have more than one residence (« mit weiterer Wohnung »), one of which — but not the main residence — is in the commune.

The main residence is determined by the criterion of place of work or education or of principal abode. Thus, by combining these three categories we obtain :

A + B = resident population (Wohnbevölkerung ») ;
A + C = population in family residence (am Familienwohnsitz) ;
A + B + C = *de jure* population (Wohnberechtigte).

So in 1961 there were in Germany :

54 967 000	persons with a single residence :
1 206 000	persons in category B with more than one residence ;
1 217 000	persons in category C.

One would have expected the national totals for B and C to be the same, but with the data collection procedure used this could not be ; firstly because some persons living alone and absent on census day were not declared, and secondly, and no doubt more seriously, because some returns were incomplete.

The narrow difference on paper between B and C is nothing like the real gap, which can be seen when the figures are broken down by sex :

	Men	Women
Category B	687 000	519 000
Category C	800 000	417 000

These fine points would be of little importance if they did not have repercussions on the statistics for households and, more particularly, families. Strictly speaking, the *de jure* population should be analysed by households and the population in family residences by families, but as the families are located in households they must be given the same population definitions.

Let us take an example of this confused situation : a father and mother have two children. The father works in a neighbouring town and with an unmarried colleague rents a flat where he stays during the week, spending weekends and holidays with his family. He is counted as having more than one residence, with his main residence in the town. If the concept of « population in family residences » is used, he is counted among couples with children and his colleague is regarded as a person living alone (from the family standpoint). If the concept of « *de jure* population » is used, he belongs to two households but also to two families, one being the couple and the other a family of unrelated persons. Lastly, if the concept of « resident population » is used, the two families would then consist of a woman alone with children, and two unrelated persons.

The concept of *de jure* population was adopted for the 1961 census and, out of a population of 56 175 000 persons in Germany, this « Wohnberechtigte Bevölkerung » comprised :

	Households		
	Of one person	Of several persons	Persons solely in institutions
	4 009 900	56 011 700	1 441 000
	of which		
Unmarried persons (unmarried persons living on their own)			2 975 000
Members of families			53 037 000
De jure population			57 453 000

On the other hand, the number of persons living in households was 54 733 000 ; so we have :

Persons living in households	54 733 000
Persons living in institutions	1 442 000
Total = resident population	56 175 000

This counting procedure was revised for the 1970 census so as to make it possible to calculate families exactly while keeping them within households. Instead of defining the different concepts of population on the basis of computable equivalences between masses of individuals, each concept was adapted from the previous one by the application of rules as to the composition of households and then families. This method ensures greater consistency, but in fact it creates even wider distinctions as between households (criterion of living together), families (criterion of present or past family relationship) and institutions (criterion of community life and existence of an official goal — « Zweck »).

The *de jure* population serves as the point of departure : 62 293 000 persons in 1970, comprising *all* individuals at *all* their residences. First of all, the population of households and institutions (« Bevölkerung in Privathaushalten und Anstalten ») is determined by subtracting households in which *all* the members have another, *main* residence (defined as in 1961) and also unmarried persons over 25 years old living in their parents' dwelling as a second residence but providing for their own needs. The figure is thus reduced to 61 753 000 persons. Private households (60 207 000) are then differentiated from institutional households (1 566 000) comprising boarders in institutions.

It is now possible to calculate the population in the place of family residence (« Am Familienwohnsitz »), eliminating persons counted more than once, using the following criteria :

- married persons living separately, if they have indicated a second residence,
- unmarried persons for whom the residence is not the main one,
- families for whom the residence is not the main one.

This leaves 59 254 000 persons. With the addition of boarders in institutions who have no personal residence, we finally get the resident population (« Wohnbevölkerung ») of 60 651 000 persons, the official number of individuals present in Germany on census day.

This tortuous reconstruction is not just a reflection of technical constraints ; it also reflects the widening divergence between economic (household), social (family) and institutional (« Anstalten ») concepts. We shall demonstrate this more clearly by explaining how the concepts are defined and how they are interrelated.

2. HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY

The formal definition of the household is based solely on the shared dwelling criterion and is therefore classified by the United Nations under the heading « household-housing unit ». But in the various breakdown techniques just examined we find that other criteria have crept in, such as the notion of upkeep (« Unterhalt ») for unmarried persons over 25 years old, determination of the main residence, or the definition of institutions (existence of a shared kitchen, or shared upkeep).

For the linkage with families, these households are split up into 9 categories according to their composition. The first four categories include persons related in direct line :

A1 couple without children ;
A2 parent(s) with unmarried children or grandchildren ;
A3 couple with a couple of married children and, where applicable, unmarried children ;

Table II-VIII-1

Population of private households and institutions by size and type
Thousands

Number of members	Total private households	*Of which* Households of several persons by type										One person households	Population of institutions
		Total	A_1	A_2	A_3	A_4	B_1	B_2	C_1	C_2	D		
1	5 543.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5 543.8	—
2	5 958.9	5 958.9	4 639.8	827.4	107.4	—	—	265.2	—	—	119.2	—	—
3	4 316.0	4 316.0	—	3 780.3	180.8	62.4	181.4	26.2	68.7	7.1	9.1	—	—
4	3 352.2	3 352.2	—	2 866.8	52.3	215.9	152.3	4.5	55.2	2.1	3.2	—	—
5	1 608.3	1 608.3	—	1 168.1	20.9	243.1	126.6	0.9	46.6	0.9	1.3	—	—
6	690.2	690.2	—	414.4	8.7	154.5	78.7	—	32.5	—	0.8	—	—
7	302.6	302.6	—	157.7	3.4	74.3	47.3	—	19.5	—	—	—	—
8 and over	237.4	237.4	—	122.3	3.0	47.0	41.8	—	21.7	0.5	0.9	—	—
number of persons therein	2 088.1	2 088.1	—	1 079.5	27.1	407.2	366.5	0.7	193.6	4.6	9.0	—	—
Total households	22 009.4	16 465.5	4 639.8	9 337.0	376.4	797.2	628.1	297.1	244.1	11.2	134.8	5 543.8	—
Total persons	60 207.3	54 663.5	9 279.6	34 973.3	1 173.2	4 120.3	2 956.0	633.5	1 184.5	42.4	300.7	5 543.8	1 546.4

A4 households which consist of children, parents, grandparents and, where applicable, grandchildren ;

B1 the above types plus another blood relative or person related by marriage ;

B2 household in which the family relationships are in indirect line only ;

C1 all the above types plus at least one non-relative ;

C2 B2 plus a non-relative ;

D households consisting of unrelated persons.

Table II-VIII-1 gives the breakdown of these types by size of household. There is also a division between one-person households and multi-person households (the number of persons living in institutions does not match that given in the relevant census section and no explanation can be supplied).

This classification of households differs from all those examined so far, because it actually makes use of the number of generations present. This principle is exemplified in the definition of types B2 and C2 whereby the relationships must be in indirect line, and in the composition of A4, but this generation effect is concealed, as it were. To uncover it, we must study the previous census (1961). Section 16 (« Demographische und wirtschaftliche Struktur der Haushalte und Familien ») does in fact provide some unique and splendid tables on the coexistence of generations, so we shall linger awhile here. Table II-VIII-2 gives the number of generations present by type of household (a much more precise classification which differentiates within B1 and C1 between the main family type and a type no longer used in 1970 which corresponds to small boarding houses). Thus, the existence of 1 189 500 three-generation households and 22 800 four-generation households in A4 means that only the latter include great-grandchildren.

Table II-VIII-2

Households by type and number of generations present

	Type of household	Total	Number of generations			
			1	2	3	4
A1	Households consisting solely of a couple without children	3 799.4	3 799.4	—	—	—
A2	Households consisting of parents and children or dependent grandchildren	8 746.8	—	8 746.8	—	—
A3	Households consisting of parents and married children (without grandchildren) and unmarried children (without grandchildren)	458.0	—	458.0	—	—
A4	Households consisting of grandparents, parents and children and, where applicable, grandchildren	1 212.3	—	—	1 189.5	22.8
B1	Households of types A1 to A4 including another relative :					
	A1 in B1	77.7	77.7	—	—	—
	A2 in B1	216.1	13.3	202.8	—	—
	A3 in B1	15.5	—	15.5	—	—
	A4 in B1	43.6	—	—	42.7	0.9
B2	Households consisting of persons related solely in indirect line	214.8	214.8	—	—	—
C1	Households of types A1 to A4 and B1 which also include a non-relative (e.g. a domestic helper) :					
	A1 in C1	93.2	93.2	—	—	—
	A2 in C1	302.1	16.8	285.3	—	—
	A3 in C1	21.7	—	21.7	—	—
	A4 in C1	69.5	—	—	68.2	1.3
C2	Households in type B2 which also include non-relatives	11.1	11.1	—	—	—
D	Households consisting solely of unrelated persons	142.6	142.6	—	—	—
G	Households of types C1, C2 and D which represent an inn or hotel and include the head of this enterprise and at least one boarder but no more than five domestic staff outside the family :					
	A1 in G	5.2	5.2	—	—	—
	A2 in G	12.9	0.3	12.6	—	—
	A3 in G	1.1	—	1.1	—	—
	A4 in G	2.9	—	—	2.9	0.0
	C2 in G	0.5	0.5	—	—	—
	D in G	3.0	3.0	—	—	—
Multi-person households		15 449.6	4 377.7	9 743.7	1 303.3	24.9
Single-person households		4 009.9	4 009.9	—	—	—

Households in which more than two generations live together are becoming rare, of course, but they still represent a by no means negligible quantity, particularly as regards the number of persons living in them. In Table II-VIII-3, for example, households are broken down by the number of generations present and persons by the generation to which they belong. Thus, in two-generation households, 112 700 persons belong to the third generation, which means that they are grandchildren living with their grandparents and their parents are not present.

This table gives heads of household as designated by the household and not according to outside rules. It shows the degree to which patriarchal authority still prevails and also that it is losing ground since, in three-generation households, many persons of the second generation are heads of household (however, it would be necessary to have tables for each sex to make a thoroughly sound analysis of the situation).

Table II-VIII-4 provides a much more detailed view of these classifications by generation. Most of the tables on households follow this principle of the generation breakdown, which seems to govern the formal classification of types and express its purpose better. Thus, the structure of type A households is shown more clearly as a result of counting the number of generations:

A1: a single generation ;
A2: two generations ;
A3: two generations, but with a third pending (married children without children of their own) ;
A4: three or four generations.

The importance of these generations is further stressed by special tables reclassifying types B1 and C1 by the A type present, so that, even in 1970, households and persons could be broken down according to the number of generations present (multi-person households).

	Type A	B1	C1	Others (B2, C2, D)
	Thousands			
Households				
A1	4 639.8	129.9	49.1	
A2	9 337.0	6.1	5.0	
A3	376.4	413.3	163.9	
A4	797.2	78.8	26.0	
Others				443.1
Persons				
A1	9 279.6	407.2	165.0	
A2	34 973.3	24.4	20.6	
A3	1 173.2	2 001.9	822.0	
A4	4 120.3	522.5	176.9	
Others				1 376.6

(When one compares this table with the corresponding tables for 1961, one is a little surprised and forced to conclude that there has been an inversion of types A2 and A3 in Tables 9, 10 and 11 of Section 8). Allowing for this, it is apparent that households of more than two generations have diminished rapidly, which partly explains why classification by generations is being abandoned.

An inter-country comparison would be no good since the *de jure* population is involved and persons who are counted more than once have to be in extended families. We shall ascertain this in analysing the statistics on families. The German census differentiates between 9 types of family which bear no specific relationship to the conventional family nuclei but rather have their links in a life cycle:

F1 : couple with unmarried children ;
F2 : couple with unmarried children and, where applicable, grandchildren (if their parents are absent) ;
F3 : couple with unmarried grandchildren but no children ;
F4 : widowed or divorced person with no unmarried children or grandchildren ;
F5 : widowed or divorced person with unmarried children or grandchildren ;
F6 : unmarried persons with unmarried children or grandchildren ;

Table II-VIII-3

Heads of household and members of household by number and generation order

Thousands

Generation of the members	Number of persons	Persons in households of:			
		1 generation	2 generations	3 generations	4 generations
First generation:					
Head of household	14 311.2	4 377.7	9 461.7	469.5	2.3
Other members	13 325.4	3 971.6	8 126.9	1 202.3	24.7
Second generation:					
Head of household	1 119.3	—	279.0	822.7	17.6
Other members	19 071.9	—	17 305.2	1 743.8	22.9
Third generation:					
Head of household	19.1	—	3.0	11.1	5.0
Other members	2 484.6	—	112.7	2 320.6	51.4
Fourth generation:					
Head of household	—	—	—	—	—
Other members	56.7	—	0.5	21.0	35.2
Persons not belonging to the series of generations	1 613.7	771.4	688.8	150.8	2.5
Total	52 001.8	9 120.7	35 977.7	6 741.8	161.6
Average number of persons in the household	3.37	2.08	3.69	5.17	6.49

Table II-VIII-4

Breakdown of households and individuals by type of household, generation and size of household

		Persons belonging to :							
		2nd generation		3rd generation		4th generation		Out of generation	
		Number	Head of household	Number	Head of household	Number	Head of household	Relatives	Non-relatives
One-generation households									
	2							181	130
	3							145	125
Number of persons	4							47	48
	5							22	25
	6 +							18	29
Total								414	357
Two-generation households									
	2	1 008	84	38	1			—	—
	3	4 544	153	63	2			29	39
Number of persons	4	5 424	30	12	0			75	92
	5	3 316	8	3	0			72	101
	6 +	3 292	4	0	0			94	187
Total		17 584	279	116	3			270	420
Two-generation households Type A2									
	2	919	46	37	1				
	3	4 072	12	56					
Number of persons	4	5 036	3	8					
	5	2 930	1	2					
	6 +	2 670							
Total		15 625	62	103	1				
Three-generation households									
	3	100	46	101	1	1		—	—
Number of persons	4	622	237	400	5	6		2	4
	5	778	256	651	3	7		9	12
	6 +	1 067	284	1 180	2	7		40	84
Total		2 567	823	2 332	11	21		51	100
Three-generation households Type A4									
	3	100	46	101	1	1			
	4	616	234	395	4	6			
Number of persons	5	742	242	627	3	7			
	6 +	872	224	982	2	6			
Total		2 330	746	2 105	10	20			
Four-generation households									
	4	1	1	1		1	—	—	—
Number of persons	5	6	3	8	1	4.7	—	0	0
	6 +	34	14	48	4	30	—	1	2
Total		41	18	56	5	35	—	1	2
Total households									
	2	1 008	84	38	1	0	—	181	130
	3	4 644	199	163	3	1	—	174	164
Number of persons	4	6 047	268	413	5	7	—	124	144
	5	4 099	267	661	5	12	—	104	139
	6 +	4 393	303	1 229	6	37	—	153	301
Total		20 191	1 121	2 504	20	57	—	736	878

F7 : married persons who have given no information on their spouse, without children living in the family ;
F8 : as F7, but with children or grandchildren ;
F9 : unmarried persons without children who do not belong to the family.

This concept of the family is summed up precisely in the definition given for the 1970 census, « child-parents community in which the child is unmarried » ; but this community is considered in terms of its total cycle ; so the children may be as yet unborn (F1) or married and departed (F1 and F4). However, there are many exceptions to this normal cycle determined by marriage, making it necessary to create special categories (F6, F7, F8). The intervention of grandchildren is also to be noted (F3). If the family cycle were not considered from the legal angle, that is if only the link between children and parents were taken into account, we would have the four conventional types of family :

— Nucleus with couple only	F1
— Nucleus with a couple and unmarried children	F2
— Parent alone with children	F5 F6 F8
— One person only	F3 F4 F7 F9

However, the introduction of grandchildren distorts this classification. Usually they are included as « relatives » added to the nucleus, whereas here they are an integral part of the families F2, F3, F5, F6, F8, i.e. more than half the types. Table II-VIII-5 gives the breakdown of these types according to the number of members of the family, and some types of family are even split up under several headings. F4 and F5 are sub-divided under four headings according to whether the parent is male or female, married or divorced ; F6, F7 and F8 are sub-divided by sex.

Hence, 18 types of family are in fact used. As we know the number of parents present, we can deduce the number of children and make a number of calculations, just one of which will be given by way of illustration. We shall determine the families to which children who are more than two in a family belong and reclassify them according to certain criteria :

Family of origin			Number of children	Living with		
F2			7 958 000	2 parents		7 958 000
F3			3 000	1 parent		407 000
F5	Man	Widowed	32 000	0 parent		3 000
		Divorced	10 000			
	Woman	Widowed	182 000	With one parent	father	73 000
		Divorced	105 000		mother	334 000
				With one parent	widowed	214 000
F6	Man		4 000		divorced	115 000
	Woman		14 000		married	60 000
					unmarried	18 000
F8	Man		27 000			
	Woman		33 000			

Although the households contain a description of the family, they do not encompass it completely as their categories are less precise ; but they do describe the *de jure* population and so embody a different approach, whereby individuals are not located solely in their families but also at their place of work or education.

Thus, by reclassifying families in households, a more complete picture is obtained of both. This is the purpose of Table II-VIII-6.

The most detailed breakdown is used for families. In the case of households, the ten conventional types are broken down according to the number of families living together in them, and a series of sub-totals combine the number of families in households (1, 2, 3, 4 or more) with the different types of family.

The extremely careful articulation of households and the family makes it possible to investigate the overall structure much more effectively and, more particularly, to determine the distribution of the marginal situations where children live with only one parent, or else in a stem family. Unfortunately, this precision is largely illusory for the following three reasons :

1. First, the structure of households is not described in full and very diverse cases are mixed together. Let us take the A3 households consisting of one or two parents and children who are either married or unmarried but themselves without children. Such households can be described in greater detail by three main types :

a) the couple of parents and at least one unmarried child ;
b) one parent or both parents and no unmarried child ;
c) one parent and an unmarried child.

Table II-VIII-6 shows that case (*a*) covers 56 100 families (since the families with children are necessarily those of the first generation). Case (*c*) covers 25 800 families for the same reason. The rest cannot be determined because the type of family of the children (there may be several married children, themselves without children) is mixed in with that of the parents.

2. The second reason why the precision is illusory is that, in any event, the structures cannot be determined precisely because households are established within the *de jure* population and families on the basis of the place of *family residence*. Thus, households cannot be reconstituted from the total number of families because persons living outside their main residence are not counted in families. The following example may help towards an understanding of this rather complicated situation.

Table II-VIII-6 puts the total of one-person households at 5 098 500 and Table II-VIII-1 at 5 543 800, so 445 300 persons constituted these households in a secondary capacity and primarily were in families. The 5 098 500 who had these one-person households for a main residence contained both families and persons without families (F9). The final products of the breakdown of the family nuclei are in fact still regarded as family. Thus, in this kind

Table

Families of types F1 to

Number of members	Total families	F1	F2	F3	F4 Male head Total	F4 Male head Widowed	F4 Male head Divorced	F4 Female head Total	F4 Female head Widowed	F4 Female head Divorced
1	5 025.2	—	—	—	928.7	605.3	323.4	3 967.4	3 505.5	461.8
2	6 338.3	5 256.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	4 295.9	—	3 931.4	31.7	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	3 315.9	—	3 207.5	4.9	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 + : families	2 243.6	—	2 179.0	0.9	—	—	—	—	—	—
persons	12 689.4	—	12 316.2	5.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total : families	21 218.9	5 256.3	9 317.9	37.6	928.7	605.3	323.4	3 967.4	3 505.5	461.8
persons	56 542.6	10 512.7	36 940.5	179.7	928.7	605.3	323.4	3 967.4	3 505.5	461.8

Table

Breakdown of families by categor

Category of family Sex Category of household			Total families	Multi-person households of type: All Total	All: Number of families in household 1	All 2	All 3	All 4 +	A1 With a family	A2 With a family	A3 Total	A3: Number of families in household 2	A3 3	A3 4 +	A4 Total	A4: Number of families in household 2	A4 3	A4 4 +
F1			5 256.3	5 256.3	4 639.8	580.7	46.7	9.2	4 639.8	—	218.3	141.2	77.0	/	147.2	115.6	31.4	
F2			9 317.9	9 317.9	8 116.6	1 099.8	85.2	16.3	—	8 116.6	56.1	18.2	37.9	/	669.1	478.2	190.7	
F3			57.6	57.6	47.4	9.3	0.7	/	—	47.6	/	—	/	—	7.1	5.2	1.9	—
F4	Male head :	widowed	605.3	263.2	—	238.2	21.2	3.9	—	—	36.3	25.6	10.7	/	114.4	84.9	29.3	
		divorced	323.4	113.3	—	103.0	8.4	1.9	—	—	42.4	29.8	12.5	/	3.9	2.0	1.9	
		all	928.7	376.5	—	341.2	29.6	5.7	—	—	78.7	55.4	23.2	/	118.3	86.9	31.2	
	Female head :	widowed	3 505.5	1 054.3	—	964.0	78.1	12.2	—	—	207.1	143.3	63.7	—	412.8	308.2	104.2	
		divorced	461.8	122.1	—	112.6	7.6	2.0	—	—	36.8	26.3	10.5	/	16.4	12.0	4.4	
		all	3 967.4	1 176.4	—	1 076.5	85.7	14.2	—	—	243.9	169.6	74.3	/	429.2	320.2	108.5	
	Total :	widowed	4 110.8	1 317.5	—	1 202.2	99.2	16.1	—	—	243.3	168.9	74.4	/	527.2	393.2	133.5	
		divorced	785.2	235.4	—	215.5	16.0	3.9	—	—	79.2	56.1	23.1	/	20.2	13.9	6.2	
		all	4 896.0	1 552.9	—	1 417.7	115.3	20.0	—	—	322.6	225.0	97.5	/	547.4	407.1	139.8	
F5	Male head :	widowed	121.7	121.7	91.3	27.7	2.3	/	—	91.3	2.5	1.1	1.4	—	7.8	5.5	2.3	—
		divorced	38.5	38.5	19.3	17.6	1.3	/	—	19.3	/	/	/	—	5.9	4.3	1.7	—
		all	160.2	160.2	110.6	45.2	3.6	0.8	—	110.6	2.6	1.2	1.5	—	13.7	9.7	4.0	—
	Female head :	widowed	811.4	811.4	673.7	128.2	8.0	1.5	—	673.7	14.1	6.0	8.0	—	51.9	32.4	19.4	
		divorced	287.4	287.4	230.6	53.6	3.0	/	—	230.6	2.0	0.9	1.2	—	32.1	21.6	10.4	
		all	1 098.8	1 098.8	904.3	181.7	10.9	1.9	—	904.3	16.1	6.9	9.2	—	84.0	54.0	29.9	
	Total :	widowed	933.0	933.0	765.0	155.8	10.3	1.9	—	765.0	16.6	7.1	9.4	—	59.6	37.9	21.7	
		divorced	325.9	325.9	249.9	71.1	4.2	0.7	—	249.9	2.2	0.9	1.2	—	38.0	25.9	12.1	
		all	1 259.0	1 259.0	1 014.9	226.9	14.5	2.7	—	1 014.9	18.7	8.1	10.7	—	97.7	63.8	33.9	
F6	Male head		10.4	10.4	1.6	7.8	0.8	/	—	1.6	/	/	/	—	/	/	/	
	Female head		130.0	130.0	74.3	51.3	3.8	0.6	—	74.3	/	/	/	—	42.7	32.6	10.1	
	Total		140.4	140.4	75.9	59.1	4.6	0.8	—	75.9	/	/	/	—	43.1	32.9	10.3	
F7	Male head		104.5	40.6	—	21.0	6.3	13.4	—	—	8.0	5.7	2.2	/	0.8	/	/	
	Female head		24.6	15.7	—	11.3	2.7	1.6	—	—	6.9	5.0	1.8	/	1.2	0.6	0.5	
	Total		129.1	56.3	—	32.3	9.0	15.0	—	—	14.9	10.7	4.0	/	1.9	0.9	0.9	
F8	Male head		60.8	60.8	15.4	41.3	2.8	1.3	—	15.4	6.2	/	6.0	—	6.5	3.4	3.1	
	Female head		101.8	101.8	66.7	31.5	2.8	0.8	—	66.7	0.9	/	0.7	—	16.7	11.2	5.5	
	Total		162.6	162.6	82.1	72.8	5.6	2.1	—	82.1	7.1	/	6.7	—	23.2	14.6	8.6	
All			21 218.9	17 803.0	13 976.8	3 478.7	281.6	66.0	4 639.8	9 337.0	638.0	403.7	234.0	/	1 536.9	1 118.2	417.3	
F9	Male head		1 096.7	418.4	—	291.3	80.1	46.9	—	—	3.0	2.3	0.7	—	1.2	0.8	7	—
	Female head		1 614.0	609.8	—	457.7	99.7	52.4	—	—	6.0	4.4	1.6	—	8.9	7.0	1.9	—
	Total		2 710.7	1 028.2	—	749.0	179.8	99.3	—	—	9.0	6.7	2.3	—	10.1	7.8	2.3	—
Total			23 929.6	18 831.2	13 976.8	4 227.7	461.4	165.4	4 639.8	9 337.0	647.0	410.4	236.3	/	1 547.0	1 126.1	419.6	

II-VIII-5

70 by size (Thousands)

Family type															
F5						F6			F7			F8			
Male head			Female head			Total	Head of family		Total	Head of family		Total	Head of family		
Total	Widowed	Divorced	Total	Widowed	Divorced		Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	129.1	104.5	24.6	—	—	—	
110.3	84.8	25.5	758.7	583.8	174.8	116.4	6.8	109.6	—		—	96.6	34.4	62.2	
32.6	23.8	8.8	222.1	150.7	71.4	16.5	2.1	14.4	—	—	—	41.6	16.0	25.6	
10.6	6.0	2.6	73.2	48.6	24.6	4.7	0.8	3.8	—	—	—	15.0	6.2	8.8	
6.6	5.1	1.5	44.9	28.3	16.6	2.9	0.7	2.2	—	—	—	9.4	4.3	5.1	
38.0	29.1	8.9	258.8	162.1	96.7	16.4	3.9	12.5	—	—	—	55.0	25.4	29.6	
160.2	121.7	38.5	1 098.8	811.4	287.4	140.4	10.4	130.0	129.1	104.5	24.6	162.6	60.8	101.8	
399.0	302.2	96.9	2 735.2	1 976.2	759.0	317.2	27.1	290.0	129.1	104.5	24.6	433.1	166.9	266.2	

I-VIII-6

f household and category of family (Thousands)

Multi-person households of type																				Households with one person only
B1				B2				C1				C2				D				
otal	Number of families in household			Total	Number of families in household			Total	Number of families in household			Total	Number of families in household			Total	Number of families in household			
	2	3	4 +		2	3	4 +		2	3	4 +		2	3	4 +		2	3	4 +	
7.5	100.7	82.4	4.3	—	—	—	—	63.6	27.4	31.6	4.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9.8	197.6	144.9	7.3	—	—	—	—	126.3	59.4	58.3	8.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.2	1.1	1.0	/	—	—	—	—	0.8	/	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9.3	28.3	19.2	1.7	23.7	15.3	8.2	/	13.3	6.1	5.6	1.6	0.9	/	0.5	/	25.4	19.0	6.4	/	342.1
1.4	6.6	4.5	/	16.4	10.9	5.4	/	16.2	9.4	5.8	1.0	0.9	/	0.5	/	22.1	16.2	5.7	/	210.1
0.7	34.8	23.7	2.1	40.1	26.2	13.6	/	29.5	15.6	11.4	2.6	1.8	0.5	0.9	/	47.5	35.2	12.1	/	552.2
8.2	126.4	76.3	5.5	121.9	77.6	43.8	0.5	38.8	15.6	18.2	4.9	3.2	0.8	1.9	0.5	62.4	42.4	19.6	/	2 451.2
9.4	12.2	6.8	/	21.9	13.9	7.9	/	8.6	4.5	3.2	1.0	1.1	/	0.5	/	18.0	11.4	6.4	/	339.7
7.6	138.5	83.1	5.9	143.8	91.5	51.7	0.6	47.4	20.1	21.4	5.9	4.2	1.1	2.4	0.7	80.4	53.8	26.0	0.6	2 790.9
7.4	154.6	95.6	7.2	145.6	92.9	52.0	0.7	52.1	21.8	23.8	6.5	4.1	1.0	2.4	0.7	87.8	61.3	26.0	0.5	2 793.3
0.8	18.7	11.2	0.8	38.3	24.8	13.3	/	24.8	13.9	8.9	2.0	2.0	0.6	1.0	/	40.1	27.6	12.1	/	509.8
8.2	173.4	106.8	8.0	183.9	117.7	65.3	0.9	76.9	35.7	32.7	8.5	6.1	1.6	3.3	1.1	127.9	88.9	38.1	0.8	3 343.1
4.1	7.7	6.2	/	—	—	—	—	6.0	3.8	2.1	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7.4	4.6	2.7	/	—	—	—	—	5.7	3.3	2.1	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21.5	12.3	8.9	/	—	—	—	—	11.7	7.1	4.2	0.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7.4	27.4	19.3	0.7	—	—	—	—	24.3	14.3	9.2	0.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
0.1	5.6	4.3	/	—	—	—	—	12.7	7.2	5.3	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7.5	33.0	23.7	0.8	—	—	—	—	36.9	21.4	14.5	1.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1.5	35.1	25.5	0.9	—	—	—	—	30.3	18.0	11.3	1.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7.5	10.2	7.1	/	—	—	—	—	18.4	10.5	7.4	0.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9.0	45.3	32.6	1.1	—	—	—	—	48.7	28.5	18.7	1.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6.6	2.0	4.4	/	—	—	—	—	1.7	1.0	0.7	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8.6	4.2	4.1	/	—	—	—	—	4.1	1.7	2.1	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5.2	6.3	8.5	/	—	—	—	—	5.8	2.7	2.7	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6.4	2.1	1.9	2.4	7.5	3.8	3.2	0.5	4.7	0.9	1.3	2.6	4.4	/	0.8	3.3	8.8	2.1	2.1	4.5	63.9
2.7	1.3	1.3	/	1.7	1.1	0.5	/	1.7	0.5	0.6	0.6	/	/		/	1.3	0.6	/	0.5	8.9
9.2	3.3	3.2	2.6	9.2	4.8	3.8	0.6	6.4	1.4	1.9	3.1	4.7	/	0,9	3.4	10.1	2.7	2.3	5.0	72.8
6.4	8.0	17.9	0.5	—	—	—	—	6.3	2.3	3.2	0.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3.9	4.9	8.7	/	—	—	—	—	3.6	1.7	1.4	0.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
0.3	12.9	26.6	0.8	—	—	—	—	9.9	4.1	4.7	1.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1.3	540.6	406.0	24.6	193.1	122.5	69.1	1.5	338.4	159.4	151.0	28.0	10.8	2.0	4.3	4.5	137.9	91.7	40.5	5.8	3 415.9
7.1	68.4	57.0	11.7	115.6	63.6	46.9	5.2	94.3	40.3	35.8	18.2	12.0	2.2	4.9	4.9	55.3	31.4	17.0	7.0	678.3
7.5	89.7	65.5	12.4	245.3	146.9	91.5	6.9	99.7	48.6	32.7	18.4	12.5	2.5	5.6	4.4	69.8	37.2	22.2	10.3	1 004.2
4.6	158.1	122.5	24.1	360.9	210.4	138.4	12.1	194.0	88.9	68.5	36.6	24.5	4.7	10.5	9.2	125.0	68.6	39.2	17.3	1 682.5
5.9	696.7	528.5	48.7	554.0	333.0	207.4	13.6	532.3	248.3	219.4	64.6	35.2	6.7	14.8	13.7	263.0	160.2	79.7	23.1	5 098.5

Table II-VIII-7

Distribution of children within families (Thousands)

Number and age of unmarried children living in their families		Total families	In families of type													
			F2	F3	F5						F6			F8		
					Male head of family			Female head of family			Total	Head of family		Total	Head of family	
					Total	Widowed	Divorced	Total	Widowed	Divorced		Male	Female		Male	Female
With children of any age																
1		5 065.1	3 931.4	51.7	110.3	84.8	25.5	758.7	583.8	174.8	116.4	6.8	109.6	96.6	34.4	62.2
2		3 525.2	3 207.5	4.9	32.6	23.8	8.8	222.1	150.7	71.4	16.5	2.1	14.4	41.6	16.0	25.6
3		1 457.5	1 353.2	0.8	10.6	8.0	2.6	73.2	48.6	24.6	4.7	0.8	3.8	15.0	6.2	8.8
4		529.6	493.2	/	3.7	2.9	0.9	25.5	16.5	9.1	1.7	/	1.3	5.2	2.3	3.0
5 +	number of families	360.1	332.6	/	2.8	2.2	0.7	19.3	11.8	7.6	1.2	/	0.9	4.2	2.0	2.2
	number of children	2 085.6	1 925.9	/	16.4	12.5	3.9	111.8	67.9	43.9	6.7	1.5	5.2	24.6	12.0	12.6
Total	number of families	10 937.5	9 317.9	57.6	160.2	121.7	38.5	1 098.8	811.4	287.4	140.4	10.4	130.0	162.6	60.8	101.8
	number of children	20 691.8	18 304.7	64.6	238.9	180.5	58.4	1 636.4	1 164.8	471.6	176.8	16.7	160.1	270.5	106.1	164.4
With children aged under 18 years																
1		3 878.1	3 360.1	42.3	43.8	23.4	20.4	277.4	155.3	122.1	85.8	4.9	81.0	68.6	24.4	44.2
2		2 869.4	2 695.5	3.9	16.6	9.7	6.9	109.5	56.4	53.1	12.7	1.6	11.1	31.1	12.1	19.0
3		1 163.3	1 102.1	0.6	5.6	3.7	1.9	39.9	21.6	18.4	3.7	0.7	3.0	11.4	4.8	6.6
4		409.9	387.1	/	2.0	1.4	0.7	15.3	8.1	7.2	1.4	/	1.0	4.0	1.7	2.3
5 +	number of families	261.4	245.1	/	1.5	1.0	0.5	11.1	5.5	5.6	0.9	/	0.7	2.7	1.3	1.4
	number of children	1 497.2	1 404.0	/	8.5	5.7	2.8	63.4	31.2	32.2	5.2	1.0	4.1	15.9	7.8	8.3
Total	number of families	8 582.1	7 789.9	47.0	69.5	39.2	30.3	453.3	246.9	206.4	104.5	7.7	96.8	117.9	44.4	73.6
	number of children	16 243.5	15 009.7	52.6	110.4	65.0	45.4	740.7	396.3	344.4	132.9	12.5	120.4	197.1	77.7	119.4
With children aged under 15 years																
1		3 642.9	3 218.0	34.8	35.1	17.6	17.6	218.5	111.1	107.4	76.7	4.1	72.6	59.9	20.1	39.8
2		2 537.7	2 403.4	3.1	11.9	6.5	5.4	82.3	38.3	44.0	10.4	1.3	9.1	26.6	10.4	16.2
3		973.6	928.0	0.5	4.2	2.5	1.6	28.5	13.8	14.7	3.2	0.6	2.5	9.3	3.9	5.4
4		321.0	304.6	/	1.3	0.8	0.5	10.8	5.0	5.7	1.0	/	0.8	3.2	1.4	1.8
5 +	number of families	180.6	170.7	/	0.8	0.5	/	6.5	2.8	3.7	0.7	/	0.6	1.8	0.9	0.9
	number of children	1 014.7	959.3	/	4.8	2.9	1.9	36.3	15.5	20.8	4.1	0.8	3.3	10.2	5.1	5.1
Total	number of families	7 655.8	7 024.7	38.5	53.3	27.9	25.4	346.5	171.0	175.5	92.0	6.4	85.6	100.8	36.7	64.0
	number of children	13 937.6	12 986.4	43.0	81.3	44.4	37.0	547.8	264.7	283.1	115.2	10.4	104.8	163.9	63.5	100.5
With children aged under 14 years																
1		3 568.1	3 171.8	32.2	32.7	16.0	16.8	200.4	98.6	101.8	73.6	3.9	69.7	57.4	19.3	38.1
2		2 424.6	2 300.8	2.8	10.6	5.6	5.0	74.8	33.8	41.0	10.0	1.3	8.6	25.7	10.2	15.6
3		904.4	863.1	/	3.7	2.2	1.5	25.5	11.8	13.8	3.0	0.6	2.4	8.6	3.7	4.8
4		288.6	274.6	/	1.1	0.7	/	9.0	4.1	5.0	0.9	/	0.7	2.9	1.2	1.6
5 +	number of families	153.9	145.7	/	0.7	/	/	5.3	2.1	3.2	0.7	/	0.5	1.5	0.7	0.8
	number of children	857.1	811.9	/	3.8	2.3	1.6	29.3	11.6	17.7	3.6	0.7	2.9	8.3	4.1	4.2
Total	number of families	7 339.6	6 756.0	35.5	48.8	24.9	23.9	315.1	150.3	164.7	88.2	6.1	82.0	96.0	35.1	60.8
	number of children	13 142.0	12 272.8	39.6	73.3	38.9	34.4	492.1	229.4	262.7	110.0	9.9	100.1	154.2	59.8	94.4
With children aged under 6 years																
1		2 982.5	2 781.4	10.3	13.6	6.4	7.2	88.7	33.0	55.7	44.6	2.8	41.7	43.9	15.1	28.8
2		1 040.3	1 001.9	0.7	2.5	1.2	1.3	18.6	6.3	12.3	4.8	0.7	4.0	11.9	4.7	7.2
3		172.5	165.6	/	/	/	/	3.4	1.1	2.4	0.9	/	0.6	2.2	1.0	1.1
4 +	number of families	24.7	23.6	—	/	/	/	0.6	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
	number of children	101.7	97.0	—	/	/	/	2.4	0.6	1.8	0.9	/	0.9	1.2	0.7	0.5
Total	number of families	4 220.1	3 972.4	11.1	16.5	7.7	8.8	111.3	40.5	70.8	50.4	3.8	46.6	58.3	21.0	37.3
	number of children	5 682.4	5 378.8	12.0	19.9	9.3	10.6	138.6	49.3	89.3	57.6	5.1	52.5	75.4	28.2	47.2
With children aged under 3 years																
1		2 142.0	2 028.3	4.2	6.0	3.0	3.1	41.8	15.4	26.3	28.5	2.1	26.4	33.3	11.7	21.5
2		256.9	247.1	/	/	/	/	3.8	1.2	2.6	1.8	/	1.5	3.7	1.5	2.2
3 +	number of families	10.0	9.6	/	/	—	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
	number of children	30.2	29.0	/	/	—	/	0.5	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
Total	number of families	2 408.9	2 285.0	4.4	6.4	3.1	3.3	45.7	16.7	29.0	30.4	2.4	28.0	37.0	13.3	23.8
	number of children	2 685.9	2 551.5	4.6	6.9	3.3	3.6	49.8	17.9	31.8	32.4	2.8	29.6	40.8	14.8	26.0

Table II-VIII-7 (cont'd)

Distribution of children within families (Thousands)

Number and age of unmarried children living in their families		Total families	In families of type													
			F2	F3	F5						F6			F8		
					Male head of family			Female head of family			Total	Head of family		Total	Head of family	
					Total	Widowed	Divorced	Total	Widowed	Divorced		Male	Female		Male	Female
With children aged over 21 years	Nb of families	2 197.0	1 432.1	5.5	83.6	77.8	5.8	608.1	540.1	68.0	27.6	2.1	25.5	40.0	14.5	25.5
	Nb of children	2 513.8	1 647.9	5.6	97.6	91.1	6.4	688.3	613.8	74.5	28.9	2.3	26.6	45.5	16.6	28.9
With children aged 18 to 21 years	Nb of families	1 748.6	1 485.7	6.2	27.9	22.1	5.9	189.1	140.7	48.4	14.4	1.7	12.7	25.2	10.5	14.7
	Nb of children	1 934.6	1 647.1	6.4	30.9	24.4	6.5	207.3	154.7	52.6	15.0	2.0	13.1	27.9	11.8	16.1
With children aged 15 to 18 years	Nb of families	2 045.5	1 790.7	9.4	26.1	18.4	7.7	173.1	118.5	54.6	16.7	1.8	14.9	29.5	12.7	16.8
	Nb of children	2 305.9	2 023.4	9.7	29.1	20.6	8.5	192.9	131.6	61.3	17.7	2.1	15.6	33.2	14.3	18.9
With children aged 14 to 18 years	Nb of families	2 585.8	2 272.8	12.6	31.4	21.8	9.6	211.6	142.7	69.0	21.2	2.2	19.0	36.1	15.1	21.0
	Nb of children	3 101.5	2 737.0	13.0	37.1	26.1	11.0	248.6	166.9	81.7	22.9	2.6	20.3	42.9	17.9	25.0
With children aged 10 to 14 years	Nb of families	2 872.9	2 620.0	13.5	24.9	14.6	10.3	162.4	92.9	69.5	21.3	2.0	19.3	30.9	12.5	18.4
	Nb of children	3 508.9	3 210.9	13.9	29.5	17.4	12.1	193.9	109.7	84.2	23.5	2.4	21.1	37.3	15.3	22.0
With children aged 6 to 10 years	Nb of families	3 191.0	2 965.0	12.9	20.0	10.1	10.0	132.8	59.6	73.3	26.2	2.0	24.2	34.1	13.3	20.8
	Nb of children	3 950.7	3 683.1	13.7	23.8	12.2	11.7	159.6	70.4	89.2	28.9	2.4	26.5	41.5	16.3	25.2
With children aged 4 to 6 years	Nb of families	1 886.0	1 775.3	5.1	9.4	4.2	5.1	59.1	21.6	37.5	15.6	1.5	14.2	21.5	8.6	13.0
	Nb of children	2 011.3	1 894.5	5.2	9.8	4.4	5.4	62.5	22.7	39.8	16.3	1.6	14.7	23.2	9.3	13.9
With children aged 2 to 4 years	Nb of families	1 833.0	1 737.3	4.1	5.8	2.8	3.0	45.7	15.7	30.1	18.0	1.4	16.5	22.1	8.1	14.0
	Nb of children	1 943.2	1 842.5	4.2	6.0	2.9	3.1	48.3	16.5	31.8	18.7	1.5	17.2	23.6	8.7	14.9
With children aged under 2 years	Nb of families	1 644.3	1 561.9	2.6	4.0	2.0	2.0	26.7	9.7	17.0	21.8	1.8	19.9	27.3	9.7	17.6
	Nb of children	1 727.8	1 641.8	2.7	4.2	2.0	2.2	27.8	10.1	17.7	22.6	1.9	20.7	28.7	10.3	18.4
With children aged under 1 year	Nb of families	812.1	768.8	1.2	2.0	1.0	1.0	11.9	4.3	7.6	12.1	1.0	11.0	16.0	5.5	10.5
	Nb of children	820.4	776.7	1.2	2.0	1.0	1.0	12.1	4.4	7.7	12.2	1.0	11.2	16.2	5.6	10.6
With children aged over 21 years only	Nb of families	1 533.2	872.2	5.1	72.7	68.2	4.5	528.0	474.7	53.3	24.8	1.6	23.2	30.4	10.4	20.0
	Nb of children	1 746.9	1 003.9	5.2	84.0	79.1	4.9	593.6	535.5	58.1	25.8	1.7	24.0	34.4	11.8	22.6
With children aged 18 to 21 years only	Nb of families	625.2	495.3	5.3	13.9	10.7	3.1	88.9	66.2	22.7	10.4	1.0	9.4	11.4	4.8	6.6
	Nb of children	678.3	540.0	5.4	15.0	11.6	3.4	95.0	70.6	24.3	10.8	1.1	9.7	12.2	5.2	7.0
With children aged over 18 years only	Nb of families	2 355.4	1 528.0	10.6	90.7	82.5	8.2	645.6	564.5	81.1	35.9	2.7	33.1	44.7	16.5	28.3
	Nb of children	2 865.2	1 901.0	10.9	108.9	99.3	9.5	753.0	659.5	93.5	38.0	3.2	34.8	53.4	20.1	33.3
With children aged under 18 years only	Nb of families	7 343.6	6 696.3	46.0	55.0	27.4	27.5	344.6	165.8	178.7	99.4	6.9	92.5	102.5	38.1	64.4
	Nb of children	14 099.7	13 096.9	51.5	87.1	46.3	40.8	569.6	271.7	298.0	124.9	11.0	113.9	169.7	65.5	104.2
With children aged 15 to 18 years only	Nb of families	556.4	448.2	8.1	10.5	6.6	3.9	66.9	45.0	21.9	11.1	0.9	10.1	11.8	5.6	6.3
	Nb of children	614.0	497.7	8.2	11.3	7.1	4.3	72.4	48.5	23.9	11.5	1.0	10.4	13.0	6.0	6.9
With children aged under 15 years only	Nb of families	6 001.3	5 523.7	37.0	38.0	16.4	21.6	235.4	95.6	139.7	85.2	5.5	79.6	82.1	29.2	52.9
	Nb of children	11 152.8	10 440.4	41.3	57.5	26.4	31.1	375.9	152.6	223.4	105.1	8.9	96.2	132.6	50.0	82.5
With children aged under 14 years only	Nb of families	5 595.7	5 161.6	33.9	34.1	14.2	20.0	208.0	79.7	128.2	81.0	5.2	75.9	77.1	27.3	49.8
	Nb of children	10 250.2	9 611.9	37.7	51.0	22.7	28.3	327.6	125.6	202.0	99.3	8.2	91.1	122.6	46.1	76.5
With children aged 6 to 15 years only	Nb of families	2 146.9	1 886.7	26.2	24.2	10.7	13.5	144.5	67.5	77.0	36.8	2.0	34.9	28.4	10.3	18.1
	Nb of children	3 429.3	3 084.8	28.3	32.7	15.1	17.6	201.4	94.0	107.4	41.4	2.6	38.8	40.6	14.9	25.7
With children aged under 6 years only	Nb of families	2 265.1	2 110.9	9.8	8.9	3.2	5.7	53.8	14.1	39.7	42.7	2.7	40.0	39.2	12.8	26.3
	Nb of children	3 185.6	2 999.7	10.5	10.9	4.0	6.9	66.9	17.8	49.1	47.3	3.4	43.8	50.3	17.4	32.9
With children aged 3 to 6 years only	Nb of families	691.4	622.3	5.9	5.1	1.7	3.4	31.4	7.7	23.7	15.9	0.8	15.1	10.9	3.5	7.3
	Nb of children	830.1	754.4	6.3	5.6	1.9	3.7	35.0	8.6	26.3	16.4	0.8	15.5	12.5	4.1	8.4
With children aged under 3 years only	Nb of families	1 064.7	995.4	3.6	2.7	1.1	1.7	15.9	4.5	11.5	24.6	1.5	23.1	22.6	6.9	15.7
	Nb of children	1 219.7	1 144.9	3.7	2.9	1.1	1.8	17.4	4.9	12.4	25.9	1.7	24.2	24.9	7.8	17.1

of family living in a one-person household there were:

2 793 300 widowers and widows,
549 800 divorced persons of both sexes,
72 800 married persons living alone, and, lastly, the real persons on their own in terms of both family and households: 1 682 500 persons. Conversely, there were 1 025 000 persons forming a one-person family but distributed among multi-person households.

All this is often interesting but not entirely satisfactory. One senses the difficulty of shifting from a classification by generations towards a classification with family nuclei. Standing in the way is the desire to retain data which are comparable from one census to the next. Thus, one succeeds neither in identifying the generations exactly nor in ascertaining the family structure of households.

3. Our third criticism (or reason for calling the precision « illusory ») is classic and applies to each of the countries under consideration. The child is defined in terms of the relationship to its parents and not in terms of a particular age. We therefore have no direct depiction of childhood. Since childhood is the essential issue here, we shall devote a section to it, given that some relevant data are to be found within the type classification of households and families.

3. CHILDHOOD

Childhood is described in three contexts in the 1970 census: first in the household, then in the family and lastly, in the special section entitled « Kinder und Jugendliche in der Familie ».

In the case of households, children under 18 years old are identified according to the size of household and the total number of children. There is not much information on childhood here and the relevant tables are not worth reproducing. In the case of families, however, there is an excellent table, II-VIII-7, which classifies families by type in the most precise way, showing the number of children aged under 18, 15, 14, 6 and 3 years. Then, families with children within age bands marked by 21, 18, 15, 14, 10, 6, 4, 2, 1 and 0 years are enumerated. Lastly, a count is made of families with all children in one of the following age groups:

0- 3 years
3- 6 years
0- 6 years
6-15 years
0-14 years
0-15 years
15-18 years
0-18 years
18 and over
18-21 years
21 and over.

This new way of describing age structure clearly serves certain legal ends (the distinction between 14 and 15 years cannot be explained otherwise).

No detailed information on sibship can be derived from these tables but the types of families indicated in the previous section can be better assessed. Thus, if we compare the families whose children are all over 21 years old and those whose children are all under 3 years old (the two extreme cases), we see clearly that the proportions of the different types change radically. The child participates throughout its youth in the life cycle of its family, almost always with both parents during the initial years, and subsequently becomes more and more isolated as the family disperses.

This development is seen even more clearly in the final table, II-VIII-8, taken from the section on children in the family. Here the structure of the family is no longer apparent but the age bands are much narrower. During their first year 95 per cent of the children have both parents with them. At age 9, 93 per cent still do; at age 15 the proportion is 88 per cent and at 18 it is 86 per cent, so the family does not break up as quickly as Table II-VIII-7 would seem to suggest.

The sections providing statistics on children contain no other tables of direct interest to us since they are more concerned with the types of education received by children and their parents. We are therefore left somewhat in the air since, despite a very detailed description of the family, households and their interrelationship, practically no data are available on the age structure of sibships in families, still less in households.

4. CONCLUSION

It is difficult to establish the connections between the family, the household and children in the German census. We have given a number of examples of a generation pattern which explains specific features of the existing data, but they could also be seen as indicative of a divergence whereby household and family move further apart, each being constructed of independent concepts.

Indeed, the household is defined in terms of a shared dwelling — even on a partial basis — and the data on the household are designed to serve an economic purpose. It is of little importance that the persons concerned may be related, or even live elsewhere part of the time.

With the family, on the other hand, it is the filial relationship which counts, so much so that children at boarding schools or parents working and living away for most of the year will nevertheless be grouped under the « family residence ». The legal relationship becomes the uppermost factor in sustaining this family. Thus, as an extreme example, if *married* persons living alone in their household have indicated any other « family residence », they are enumerated in their family at that residence, basi-

Table II-VIII-8
Situation of children in families according to age

Age	Unmarried children	Type of family						
		F2	F3	F5			F6	F8
				Total	Head of family			
					Widowed	Divorced		
Children								
Under 1 year	820.4	776.7	1.2	14.1	5.4	8.7	12.2	16.2
1 - 2	907.3	865.1	1.4	17.8	6.7	11.1	10.4	12.5
2 - 3	958.1	909.6	1.9	24.7	9.2	15.5	9.8	12.1
3 - 4	985.1	932.8	2.3	29.7	10.3	19.4	8.9	11.4
4 - 5	993.4	938.0	2.3	33.5	12.0	21.5	8.0	11.6
5 - 6	1 018.0	956.5	2.9	38.8	15.1	23.7	8.2	11.6
6 - 7	1 020.5	955.8	3.1	42.5	17.3	25.3	8.1	10.9
7 - 8	1 001.6	935.3	3.8	43.9	18.8	25.1	7.8	10.8
8 - 9	975.3	908.0	3.3	47.3	21.5	25.7	6.6	10.2
9 - 10	953.4	884.0	3.5	49.8	25.0	24.8	6.4	9.6
10 - 11	920.7	849.9	3.6	50.7	26.9	23.8	6.6	9.9
11 - 12	891.4	819.7	3.8	53.0	29.4	23.5	5.9	9.1
12 - 13	865.3	788.3	3.4	58.4	33.6	24.7	5.8	9.4
13 - 14	831.5	753.1	3.0	61.3	37.1	24.2	5.1	9.0
14 - 15	795.6	713.5	3.4	63.8	40.8	23.0	5.2	9.7
15 - 16	792.6	701.6	3.2	70.3	46.0	24.3	6.3	11.2
16 - 17	764.8	671.9	3.0	73.5	50.8	22.8	5.5	10.8
17 - 18	748.5	649.9	3.4	78.2	55.4	22.8	5.8	11.1
18 - 19	705.4	607.4	2.4	79.9	58.3	21.6	5.0	10.7
19 - 20	648.1	551.3	2.2	80.1	59.7	20.4	5.4	9.1
20 - 21	581.1	488.4	1.7	78.1	61.1	17.1	4.7	8.1
21 - 25	1 264.5	1 009.9	4.0	214.7	172.3	42.3	15.0	21.0
25 - 30	570.1	360.5	1.3	189.4	168.1	21.3	6.5	12.4
30 and over	679.1	277.[illegible]	/	381.9	364.6	17.3	7.4	12.1
Total	20 691.8	18 304.7	64.6	1 875.2	1 345.3	529.9	176.8	270.5

cally, one assumes, in the hope of re-establishing them in their natural home.

The third group, the institutions, to which we have given little attention, are defined in yet another way in geographical and social terms, since these establishment must have a purpose and shared facilities. We have said virtually nothing about the formidable problems of linking them with the populations of families and of private households since there is little information on the children in them. It should be pointed out, however, that *children under 15 years old* in institutions total 120, 452 (out of a population of 1 526 000 in this particular category entitled « Anstaltsbevölkerung »).

These three separate groups are converging and at the same time establishing with ever-increasing precision their boundaries and their coverage, the areas where they overlap and where they interlock, while retaining their individuality. (Thus, the description of families has been derived from the *de jure* population, which was not itself adequate to describe the family as such but simply to associate it with households.) However, nothing is definitely established as yet, for other centrifugal forces are at work : chief among them is the changing concept of the family, which, from a description of generations, is moving towards statistics of family nuclei in the family, although the old classification hardly lends itself to this. We shall find similar problems when we turn our attention to the results of censuses in Japan.

Chapter IX

JAPAN : IMPOSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING CONSISTENT FAMILY CLASSIFICATIONS

In Germany the changeover to a new way of classifying families by type was there in outline but not formulated explicitly. In Japan it has been, but family systems die hard and the earlier principles still come through. The effect of this ill-resolved conflict has been to inflate the number of family and household types, which try to combine the old hierarchy of generations with the new system of family nuclei.

1. THE TWO CLASSIFICATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

There is no problem concerning the definition of different population types since the Japanese population is a *de jure* one with specific rules for a given number of particular cases : students and pupils are counted at the place where they are residing for their studies ; the sick are counted in hospitals if they stay more than three months ; prisoners are counted in their prisons, and so on. In other words, we have an absolutely formal approach whereby one place, and one place only, is assigned to each person.

Households are split up into ordinary households and « quasi-households », the first covering persons who share their dwelling and expenditure or, alternatively, individuals occupying a dwelling. They therefore meet the definition of « housekeeping unit ». Employees are excluded if there are more than five who do not work as domestic staff. « Quasi-households » are defined by a list, and primarily cover individuals living with an ordinary household but having a separate budget.

For the 1965 census, households were broken down into 16 « family types » according to the number of generations present. The following list is taken from the explanatory notes to the 1970 census (Tome II, Volume 2 : *Whole Japan*) :

A - Households consisting of relatives

- I. *One-generation households*
  1. Married couple only
  2. Married couple with brothers or sisters
  3. Other types.
- II. *Two-generation households*
  4. Married couple with children
  5. Married couple with children and brothers or sisters of the couple
  6. Father and children
  7. Mother and children
  8. Couple of parents with a couple of married children without grandchildren (where applicable, with unmarried children)
  9. A parent and couple of married children without grandchildren (where applicable, with unmarried children)
  10. Other two-generation households.
- III. *Three-generation households*
  11. Couple of parents and couple of married children with grandchildren (where applicable, with unmarried children)
  12. A parent and couple of married children with grandchildren (where applicable, with unmarried children)
  13. Other three-generation households.
- IV. *Other types of household*

B - Households consisting of unrelated persons

C - One-person households

This classification clearly defines the patterns in a system of relatives which excludes the situation where several couples of married children are living together.

Figure II-IX-1 shows how these different types follow one another in the course of events. The only cases not covered are those in which there may be unmarried uncles and aunts or the introduction of a fourth generation. For the 1970 census, the household breakdown was changed entirely to give the following list :

A - Households consisting of relatives

- I. *Family nuclei*
  1. Married couple only
  2. Married couple with children

3. Father with children
4. Mother with children.

II. *Other households consisting of relatives*
5. Couple with parents
6. Couple with one parent
7. Couple with children and parents
8. Couple with children and one parent
9. Couple and relatives
10. Couple with children and relatives
11. Couple with parents and relatives
12. Couple with parents, children and relatives
13. Other households consisting of relatives.

B - Households consisting of unrelated persons

C - One-person households

This classification can be viewed from several standpoints, notably :

— couple and other relatives cross-classified with all combinations { children, parent(s) } ;

— couple cross-classified with all combinations { child(ren) and { 0 parent, 1 or more } } ;

— father or mother with children.

Non-relatives are not integrated into this system and, if they live in the same dwelling, constitute « quasi-households » of one person. It is not easy to match up the two classifications.

The Japanese census proposes a minimum version which is illustrated in Figure II-IX-2, but it is possible to be more precise (Figure II-IX-3) by showing where each category in each census can lead. It is therefore easier to reclassify one census in the categories of the other than might appear from Figure II-IX-2, but there is nevertheless a discontinuity between the two classifications and this cannot be avoided : the first establishes a hierarchy of generations and the second does not differentiate between them.

Table II-IX-1 gives a conventional statistical breakdown, showing the households of Japan (including Okinawa) by size and type (the numerals corresponding to the types in the 1970 census already indicated above). It will be seen that only 60 per cent of individuals live in nuclear families, while

Figure II.IX.1

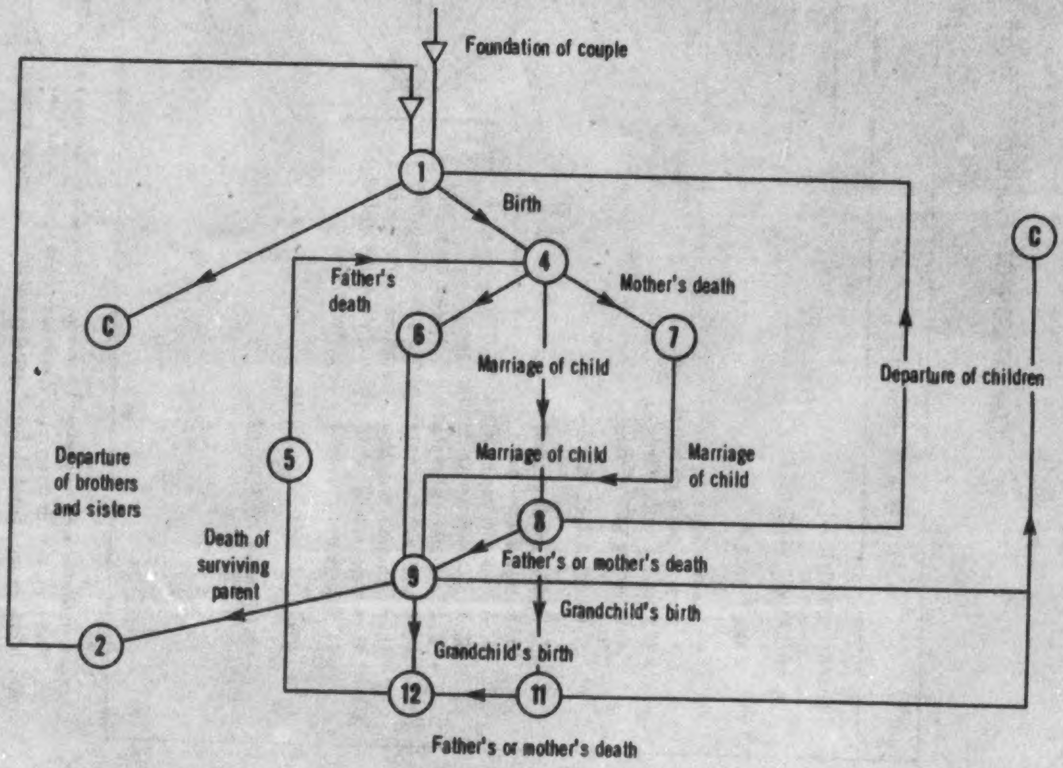
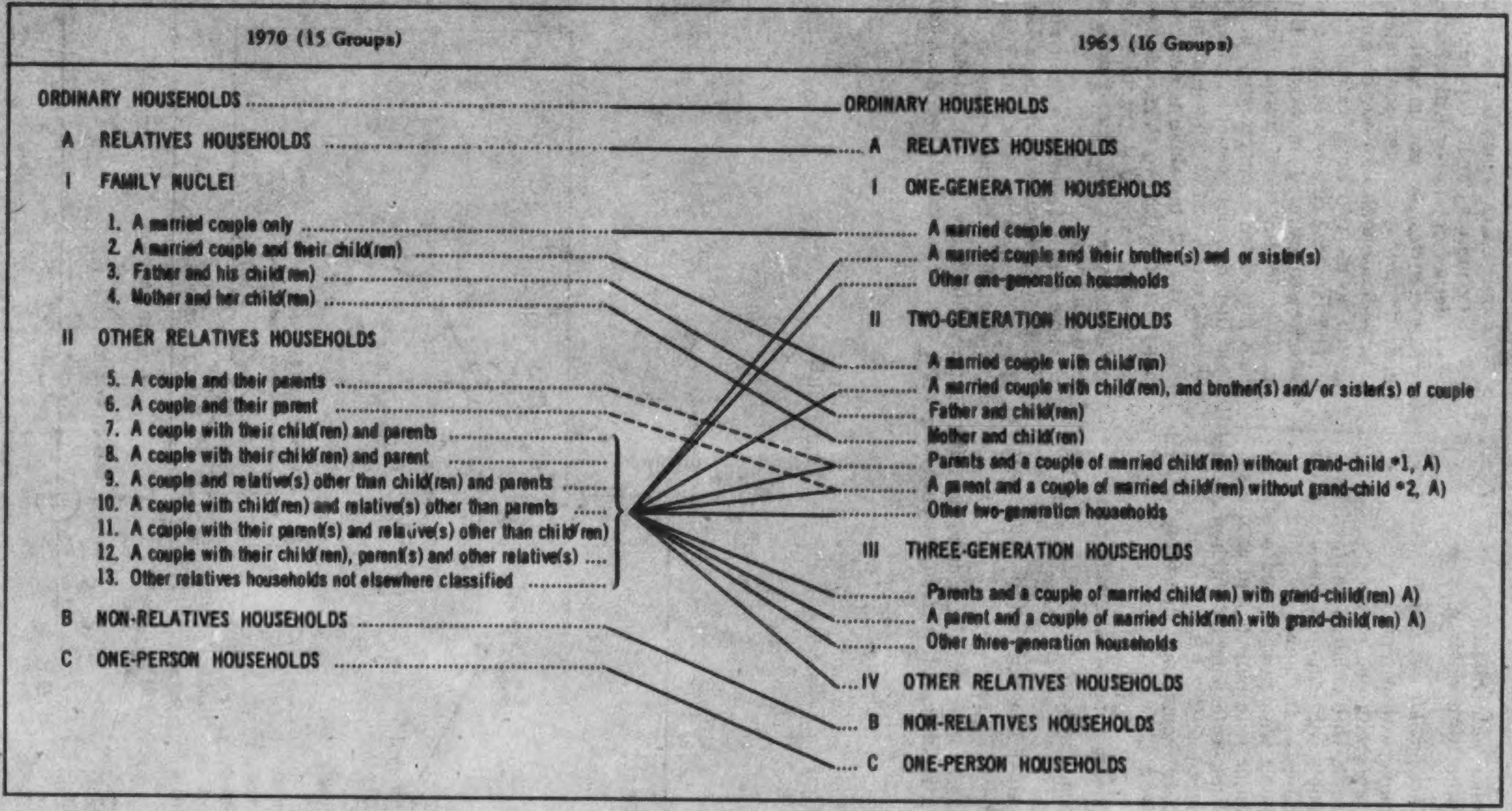

Foundation of couple
1
Birth
4
C
Father's death
Mother's death
C
6
7
Marriage of child
Departure of children
Departure of brothers and sisters
5
Marriage of child
Marriage of child
8
Death of surviving parent
9
Father's or mother's death
Grandchild's birth
2
Grandchild's birth
12
11
Father's or mother's death

Figure II.IX.2

COMPARISON OF FAMILY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD BETWEEN 1965 AND 1975


1970 (15 Groups)
1965 (16 Groups)
ORDINARY HOUSEHOLDS
A RELATIVES HOUSEHOLDS
I FAMILY NUCLEI
1. A married couple only
2. A married couple and their child(ren)
3. Father and his child(ren)
4. Mother and her child(ren)
II OTHER RELATIVES HOUSEHOLDS
5. A couple and their parents
6. A couple and their parent
7. A couple with their child(ren) and parents
8. A couple with their child(ren) and parent
9. A couple and relative(s) other than child(ren) and parents
10. A couple with child(ren) and relative(s) other than parents
11. A couple with their parent(s) and relative(s) other than child(ren)
12. A couple with their child(ren), parent(s) and other relative(s)
13. Other relatives households not elsewhere classified
B NON-RELATIVES HOUSEHOLDS
C ONE-PERSON HOUSEHOLDS
ORDINARY HOUSEHOLDS
A RELATIVES HOUSEHOLDS
I ONE-GENERATION HOUSEHOLDS
A married couple only
A married couple and their brother(s) and or sister(s)
Other one-generation households
II TWO-GENERATION HOUSEHOLDS
A married couple with child(ren)
A married couple with child(ren), and brother(s) and/or sister(s) of couple
Father and child(ren)
Mother and child(ren)
Parents and a couple of married child(ren) without grand-child *1, A)
A parent and a couple of married child(ren) without grand-child *2, A)
Other two-generation households
III THREE-GENERATION HOUSEHOLDS
Parents and a couple of married child(ren) with grand-child(ren) A)
A parent and a couple of married child(ren) with grand-child(ren) A)
Other three-generation households
IV OTHER RELATIVES HOUSEHOLDS
B NON-RELATIVES HOUSEHOLDS
C ONE-PERSON HOUSEHOLDS

*1) Households with four related members correspond to the other side of 1970 combined by a dotted line.
*2) Households with three related members correspond to the other side of 1970 combined by a dotted line.
A) Includes the households with brothers and/or sisters of a couple of married children.

28.5 per cent are in three-generation households. The 1965 classification effectively reflected the real organisation of the family. It is accordingly apparent that the number of children in the category « couple with children only » is diminishing very quickly, thus reflecting either the preponderance of families with one or two children, or a quite high proportion of older couples whose parents have died and whose older children have left them.

Further information on children and the family is given in Volume 8 of the 1970 census. This includes a section entitled « Families and households » which has three tables that are more precise, and also an extraordinary type classification of families.

2. FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

The Japanese census differentiates *family units* (not to be confused with family nuclei) within the household. These comprise four main types:

- — married couple with or without unmarried children under 18 years old,
- — parent and unmarried children under 18 years old,
- — person alone,
- — unrelated persons.

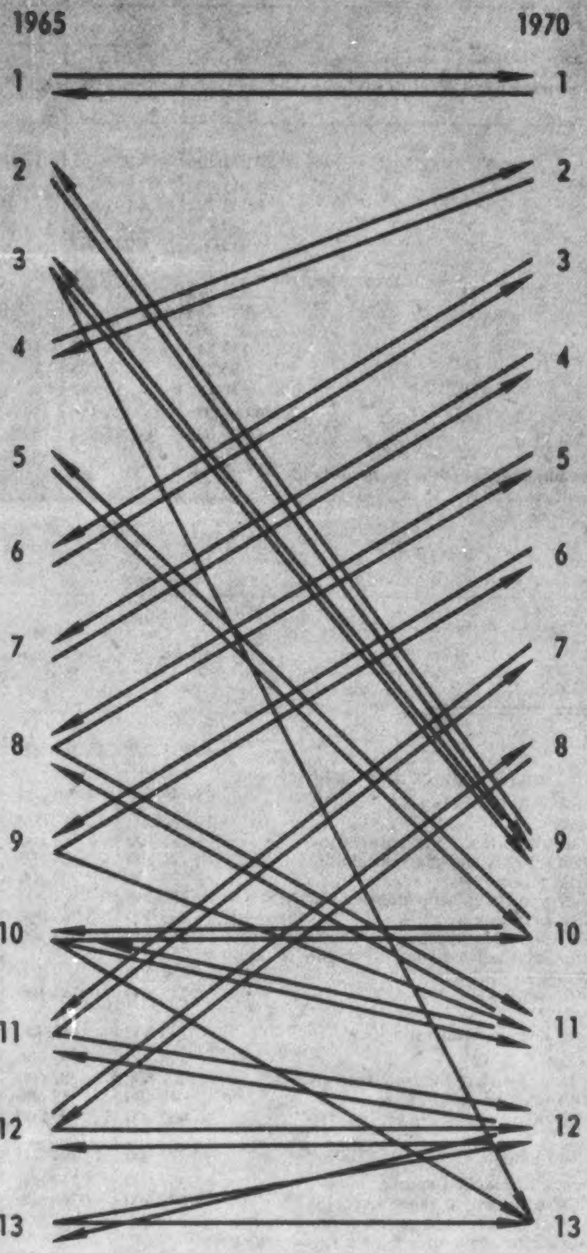
These, of course, have nothing to do with family nuclei (as regards the first category, the age of the children is introduced into the actual type classification of families). The four categories are split up into the following 25 sub-categories:

I - *Married couple only or with children aged under 18*
  1. Alone
  2. With unmarried children over 18 years old
  3. With parents and married children
  4. With parents
  5. With one parent and married children
  6. With one parent
  7. With married children
  8. With married couples or brothers and sisters
  9. With other relatives

II - *One parent and children under 18 years old*
  1. Alone
  2. With unmarried children over 18 years old
  3. With married children
  4. With other relatives

III - *Person alone*
  1. Parent of a married couple
  2. Child of a couple (over 18 years old)
  3. Brother or sister of a couple (over 18 years old)
  4. Brother or sister of a couple (under 18 years old)
  5. Parent of unmarried children over 18 years old
  6. Child aged 18 or over of a person alone

Figure II.IX.3



  7. Other individual over 18 years old
  8. Other individual under 18 years old

IV - *Unrelated persons*
  1. Lodger (over 18 years old)
  2. Lodger (under 18 years old)
  3. Employee in the family business
  4. Domestic staff

Table

Ordinary households, household members and related household mem

Ordinary household, related household members (11 groups), ordinary household members and related household members	Total	A. Relatives households							
			Family nuclei						Total
			Total	1	2	3	4		
	27 071 166	24 059 463	17 185 912	2 971 840	12 470 599	252 868	1 490 605		6 873 551
1	3 011 703	—	—	—	—	—	—		—
2	4 193 384	4 193 384	3 935 191	2 971 840	—	130 355	832 996		258 193
3	5 349 815	5 349 815	4 833 309	—	4 316 908	75 957	440 444		516 506
4	6 943 003	6 943 003	5 908 319	—	5 712 692	33 447	162 180		1 034 684
5	3 888 391	3 888 391	1 964 788	—	1 913 137	9 836	41 815		1 923 603
6	2 217 395	2 217 395	423 877	—	410 985	2 520	10 372		1 793 518
7	949 273	949 273	87 014	—	84 417	517	2 080		862 259
8	353 104	353 104	23 751	—	23 087	145	519		329 353
9	113 545	113 545	6 767	—	6 578	45	144		106 776
10	35 305	35 305	2 038	—	1 985	21	32		33 267
11	16 248	16 248	858	—	810	25	23		15 390
Total	99 983 272	96 830 376	59 804 120	6 031 338	49 093 349	706 816	3 972 617		37 026 256
	98 999 087	95 987 384	59 261 167	5 943 680	48 697 048	692 442	3 927 997		36 726 257
Average number of persons per household	3.66	3.99	3.45	2.00	3.90	2.74	2.64		5.34

Table

Family Units by Kind of Family Unit (25 Groups) and

Type of family unit	Total	A. Relatives households						
		Total	I. One-generation households				II. Two-generation	
			Total	1	2	3	Total	4
Total	46 175 200	43 032 500	3 624 900	3 046 000	76 900	502 000	24 465 200	18 575 600
I. Married couple only or with children aged under 18	23 746 700	23 746 700	2 998 500	2 957 900	35 700	4 900	13 470 800	12 367 200
1. Alone	11 542 000	11 542 000	2 957 900	2 957 900	—	—	8 584 100	8 584 100
2. With unmarried children aged over 18	3 783 100	3 783 100	—	—	—	—	3 783 100	3 783 100
3. With parents and married children	24 800	24 800	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. With parents	2 220 200	2 220 200	—	—	—	—	230 000	—
5. With one parent and married children	167 200	167 200	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. With one parent	3 209 000	3 209 000	—	—	—	—	310 200	—
7. With married children	2 043 100	2 043 100	—	—	—	—	229 700	—
8. With married couples or brothers and sisters	14 200	14 200	1 400	—	—	1 400	10 200	—
9. With other kin	743 100	743 100	39 200	—	35 700	3 500	323 500	—
II. Parent and children aged under 18	1 143 400	1 143 400	—	—	—	—	735 600	—
1. Alone	492 700	492 700	—	—	—	—	492 700	—
2. With unmarried children aged over 18	202 600	202 600	—	—	—	—	202 600	—
3. With married children	42 400	42 400	—	—	—	—	12 600	—
4. With other kin	405 700	405 700	—	—	—	—	27 700	—
III. Person alone	20 272 600	17 274 200	529 300	—	39 500	489 800	9 726 800	5 792 700
1. Parent of married couple	3 337 600	3 337 600	—	—	—	—	297 900	—
2. Child of a couple (aged over 18)	8 358 600	8 358 600	—	—	—	—	6 070 900	5 792 700
3. Brother or sister of a couple (aged over 18)	742 800	742 800	37 100	—	36 900	200	254 000	—
4. Brother or sister of a couple (aged under 18)	17 100	17 100	2 600	—	2 600	—	10 900	—
5. Parent of unmarried children aged over 18	1 462 000	1 462 000	—	—	—	—	1 037 900	—
6. Child aged over 18 of a person alone	2 041 300	2 041 300	—	—	—	—	1 774 400	—
7. Other individual aged over 18	4 018 300	1 045 900	454 900	—	—	454 900	225 100	—
8. Other individual aged under 18	294 900	268 900	34 700	—	—	34 700	55 700	—
IV. Unrelated persons	1 012 500	868 200	97 100	88 100	1 700	7 300	532 000	415 700
1. Lodger (aged over 18)	194 300	115 800	16 500	14 600	100	1 800	75 400	46 700
2. Lodger (aged under 18)	37 300	29 800	5 900	5 500	200	200	15 800	9 200
3. Employee in the family business	707 300	657 800	66 600	60 800	1 200	4 600	401 800	331 300
4. Domestic staff	73 600	64 800	8 100	7 200	200	700	39 000	28 500

I-IX-1

bers by family type and size of household, for Japan and Prefecture

A. Relatives households (cont'd)									B Non-relatives households	C. One-person households
Other relatives households										
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
111 782	242 039	1 240 684	2 441 068	137 133	597 292	249 854	1 194 037	659 662	100 108	2 911 595
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100 108	2 911 595
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	258 193	—	—
—	242 039	—	—	95 779	—	—	— —	178 688	—	—
111 782	—	—	573 299	21 169	151 609	50 179	—	126 646	—	—
—	—	277 618	1 150 085	9 710	224 943	95 218	101 159	64 870	—	—
—	—	620 592	578 788	6 597	145 688	61 784	356 622	23 447	—	—
—	—	285 235	109 906	2 693	49 537	25 559	383 828	5 501	—	—
—	—	47 567	21 824	813	17 611	11 095	228 814	1 629	—	—
—	—	7 510	5 150	245	5 408	4 049	83 989	427	—	—
—	—	1 604	1 466	80	1 701	1 304	26 976	136	—	—
—	—	558	550	47	795	666	12 649	125	—	—
452 134	736 763	7 628 621	12 615 994	498 596	3 206 861	1 384 841	8 393 626	2 108 820	241 301	2 911 595
447 128	726 117	7 573 774	12 527 547	489 056	3 167 863	1 372 418	8 334 646	2 082 668	100 108	2 911 595
4.00	3.00	6.11	5.13	3.57	5.30	5.49	6.98	3.16	1.00	1.00

I-IX-2

Family Type of Household (16 Groups), for Japan

A. Relatives households (cont'd)											B. Non-relatives households	C. One-person households
households						III. Three-generation households				IV Other relatives households		
5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	11	12	13			
443 200	521 400	2 978 100	606 300	682 400	658 200	13 578 300	4 408 300	6 987 100	2 182 900	1 364 100	242 800	2 899 900
177 900	—	—	453 300	304 100	168 300	6 711 700	3 460 300	2 717 900	533 500	565 700	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	6 600	—	—	6 600	18 200	—	—
—	—	—	226 700	—	3 300	1 823 800	1 730 400	—	93 400	166 400	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	27 500	—	—	27 500	139 700	—	—
—	—	—	—	304 100	6 100	2 810 000	—	2 717 900	92 100	88 800	—	—
—	—	—	226 600	—	3 100	1 787 700	1 729 900	—	57 800	25 700	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	10 200	1 000	—	—	1 000	1 600	—	—
177 900	—	—	—	—	145 600	255 100	—	—	255 100	125 300	—	—
—	104 500	590 800	—	12 300	28 000	383 500	—	22 800	360 700	24 300	—	—
—	70 800	421 900	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	33 700	168 900	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	12 300	300	26 400	—	22 800	3 600	3 400	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	27 700	357 100	—	—	357 100	20 900	—	—
250 400	402 400	2 345 200	142 000	352 200	441 900	6 262 700	869 800	4 144 000	1 248 900	755 400	98 500	2 899 900
—	—	—	—	291 800	6 100	2 812 100	—	2 695 300	116 800	227 600	—	—
57 600	—	—	141 700	—	78 900	2 154 200	864 700	1 072 700	216 800	133 500	—	—
183 200	—	—	300	59 800	10 700	418 700	5 000	374 400	39 300	33 000	—	—
9 600	—	—	—	600	700	2 300	100	1 600	600	1 300	—	—
—	142 800	871 200	—	—	23 900	348 600	—	—	348 600	75 500	—	—
—	259 600	1 474 000	—	—	40 800	256 500	—	—	256 500	10 400	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	225 100	185 300	—	—	185 300	180 600	97 200	2 875 200
—	—	—	—	—	55 700	85 000	—	—	85 000	93 500	1 300	24 700
14 900	14 500	42 100	11 000	13 800	20 000	220 400	78 200	102 400	39 800	18 700	144 300	—
1 200	7 100	14 300	1 400	1 600	3 100	21 200	5 400	7 400	8 400	2 700	78 500	—
200	1 300	2 600	1 000	1 000	500	7 300	1 300	3 600	2 400	800	7 500	—
13 200	4 200	21 500	7 600	9 500	14 500	175 700	67 100	82 500	26 100	13 700	49 500	—
300	1 900	3 700	1 000	1 700	1 900	16 200	4 400	8 900	2 900	1 500	8 800	—

This formidable classification is combined with the 1965 typology of households in Table II-IX-2, thus providing a glimpse of its real significance and, at the same time, showing the former classification of households. To familiarize ourselves with this table, let us examine a couple of cases. In the first, the second type of one-generation household (couple without children with brother and sister) appears under the headings:

I.	9. Couple with other relatives:	35 700
III.	3. Unmarried persons over 18 years old, brothers or sisters of a couple:	36 900
III.	4. As above, but under 18 years old:	2 600
IV.	1 to 4. Relatives, lodgers and domestic staff:	1 700

It can therefore be said that 35 700 couples with children over 18 years old live with their brothers and sisters (39 500, of which 2 600 under 18 years old), and 1 700 with persons outside the family.

As a second example let us take individuals, parents of a married couple (III.1) who total 3 337 600, broken down as follows:

- 291 800 in type (9): parent and couples of married children without grandchildren;
- 6 100 in type (10): other two-generation households;
- 2 695 300 in type (12): parent with couples of married children with grandchildren (where applicable, with other unmarried children);
- 116 800 in type (13): other three-generation households;
- 227 600 in other households consisting of relatives.

The system is understandable, its objectives are not. It certainly clarifies the situation of individuals in families, but not for all individuals (children under 18 years old are not counted but serve to establish the categories), and its categories are not general but closely linked to the 1965 type classification of households for which it specifies each category. It is therefore halfway between a precise inventory of individuals according to their situation in the household and the actual typology of households.

One of its most interesting aspects is the introduction of persons outside the family who were not included in the classifications.

To give a clearer picture of children in the family, a second and equally original classification is used, but this is built around the head of family with an abundance of detail which, all the same, cannot make up for the fundamental shortcoming of this method, i.e. it depends on the position of the head in the family and that is decided by the members of the household themselves. Thus, a person may be a child or grandchild, depending on whether the father or grandfather is designated as head. This makes it impossible to rely on the birth order of children: between 0 and 4 years old there are 4 821 000 first children, 2 232 000 younger children, but 1 703 000 grandchildren whose birth order is not known.

Lastly, a table provides fuller details on the subpopulation of children of married couples: families of no more than four children are classified by size and age structure in four main age groups: 0-2 years, 3-5 years, 6-14 years, 15 years and over. However, not all the combinations are given and neither is the number of children in each (for example, in the case of families of four children aged between 6 and 14 years or 14 years and over, the number of children in either group is not given). Despite this minor shortcoming, the data bring out a couple of important facts: the small number of large families (3 per cent of married couples) and the homogeneous composition of families (few children very close together in age and very few far apart in age), facts which are clear evidence of family planning and birth control.

3. CONCLUSION

The Japanese system of classification stands apart from the ones we have seen so far, and presents a new situation in that it tries to master the statistics of the family by just going ahead and increasing the number of criteria and categories. In these few pages we have examined five different classifications, each comprising some 20 categories. The classifications of the household were stylish in their description of the life cycle of this family system, but the last three classifications of the family are cumbersome and ill-suited to the study of childhood:

- the « family units » did not cover children under 18 years old, but dealt with secondary categories in great detail;
- the « links with the head of household » depended on the latter's position and were unsuitable for describing the situation of the child in general;
- the family types by age of the children were considered only in « normal » families of married couples.

Our initial impression of formalism is therefore confirmed. Yet although this formalism prevents us from obtaining a sufficiently broad view of childhood, it does provide us with some of the most detailed and, in some respects, the most intimate descriptions of the family.

Chapter X

FAMILIES AND SUBFAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States' statistics complement those of the United Kingdom. There are virtually no data on households and their typology, but the age structure of nuclear families is shown in great detail in a series of descriptions which stop short of giving every possible combination of the ages of each child.

1. THE HOUSEHOLD IN THE UNITED STATES

The 1970 census contains very little information on households. The recent trends in American society partly account for this. The high degree of mobility of young adults (between the ages of 20 and 25, one person in two changes residence each year) destroys the spatial relationship whereby families can be identified within households. Accordingly, the biological or legal family constituted by surviving offspring or adopted children, comes closer to the idea of the family than the individuals counted at a given date in dwellings.

This trend is not uniform, and there are zones in the United States which present very considerable differences determined by such factors as race, social circumstances and even the state concerned. In Utah the average family is twice as big as in the Eastern states, owing to Mormon settlements.

The data to be used here, for both households and families, are those very recently obtained in one of the latest Current Population Surveys in which 4 500 households were interviewed (this sample limits the type classifications since under-represented categories are subject to unduly wide fluctuations).

Households are defined by the housing unit (« all the persons who occupy a housing unit ») but, as already pointed out in the introductory chapter, this definition is not that of the household-housing unit in the strict sense, because the « housing unit » is itself defined as part of a building designed for the accommodation of people who neither live nor eat with anyone else in the building, i.e. for a housekeeping unit.

Table II-X-I shows the recent trend in the size of households. As in many developed countries, the number of one-person households is increasing (by 50 per cent between 1950 and 1975), whereas the number of households of four or more persons is diminishing (the larger the household, the faster the rate of decrease). Households are broken down by family units (traditional family nuclei) which include the primary nucleus containing the head of household (designated by members of the household, except in the case of married women where the husband is always picked). « Secondary families » or « subfamilies » may be attached to these primary families.

Secondary families cannot include any relative of the head of household, while subfamilies can. The « primary individual » head of household living without relatives is also distinguished from the « secondary individual » who is not head of household and has no relationship to the members of the household (a boarder or friend, for example).

The breakdown of a complex household does not follow the traditional rules exactly, since a married

Table II-X-1

Households by size : 1960 to 1975

Thousands

Size of household	1975	1970	1965	1960
All households	71 120	63 401	57 436	52 799
1 person	13 939	10 851	8 615	6 917
2 persons	21 753	18 333	16 140	14 678
3 persons	12 384	10 949	10 281	9 979
4 persons	11 103	9 991	9 247	9 293
5 persons	6 399	6 548	6 318	6 072
6 persons	3 059	3 534	3 331	3 010
7 persons or more	2 484	3 195	3 504	2 851
Per cent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1 person	19.6	17.1	15.0	13.1
2 persons	30.6	28.9	28.1	27.8
3 persons	17.4	17.3	17.9	18.9
4 persons	15.6	15.8	16.1	17.6
5 persons	9.0	10.3	11.0	11.5
6 persons	4.3	5.6	5.8	5.7
7 persons or more	3.5	5.0	6.1	5.4

Table II-X-2

Households by size and type : 1975

		Number of persons						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7 +
With primary families	Couple	—	16 631	9 925	9 824	5 730	2 699	2 141
	Father only	—	754	401	180	74	42	34
	Mother only		3 041	1 856	1 027	576	318	308
Primary individuals	Men	4 918	777	143	56	13	—	—
	Women	9 021	550	59	16	5	—	—
All		13 939	21 753	12 384	11 103	6 399	3 059	2 484
Percentage		19.6	30.6	17.4	15.6	9.0	4.3	3.5

couple directly descended from the head of household is counted in his family and not as an individual subfamily. Similarly, since 1968, married children and their spouses have been counted in with conventional children (who must be unmarried). This seems to be either a slight concession to patriarchism, or an indication of a move towards a new type of entirely nuclear family, since the fact of living with their parents means that a couple is no longer regarded as a separate family and revert to the status of children.

This form of construction is not fully used for the Current Population Survey sample, which confines itself to a breakdown between households with a family and primary households (Table II-X-2).

The average household is now very small (2.94 persons) and has continued to diminish since 1940, as shown by the following figures :

1940	3.67
1950	3.37
1960	3.33
1970	3.14
1971	3.11
1972	3.06
1973	3.01
1974	2.97
1975	2.94

Household size also varies according to race : 2.89 for whites and 3.27 for blacks. Another hitherto neglected source of differences is the age of the household head.

We shall now use the age of the head of household to trace the « life cycle » of the couple. The composition of two-parent and one-parent households in three age groups is placed in relation to the age of the household head, thus simulating a kind of life cycle of a couple that demographers or economists would call « transversal » (the figures indicate the average number of persons in the household in the age-group in question). The result is striking (see Table below).

The family builds up until the parents are about 40 years of age, then the children leave rapidly and are not replaced by grandchildren.

The second series shows mixed influences : the youngest mothers are unmarried, the next in age are divorced and the oldest are widows. This is not a life cycle in the strict sense. These data on the number of children under 18 in households serve as an introduction to the study of children, for which we have a considerable amount of information.

Age of household head	— 25	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-74	75 +
Primary family with a couple :								
Under 18 years	0.78	1.20	1.97	2.33	1.13	0.33	0.11	0.04
18-64 years	1.99	2.03	2.04	2.25	2.68	2.39	0.70	0.27
Over 65 years	0.0	0.0	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.09	1.55	1.93
Primary family with a mother alone :								
Under 18 years	0.74	1.18	1.80	1.85	0.68	0.16	0.08	0.04
18-64 years	1.26	1.20	1.12	1.50	1.64	1.44	0.25	0.22
Over 65 years	0.0	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.07	0.07	1.07	1.07

2. THE CHILD AND THE COMPOSITION OF FAMILIES

The first three distributions (II-X-3) give a breakdown of children under 18, under 6 and under 3 years old by the three kinds of family nuclei and by number (absolute figures and percentages). It will be seen that there is a wide gap between families with two children and those with three children under 18. One can also look out the parental situation of children, as follows:

	With both parents	With father only	With mother only
	Percentages		
Children under 3 years old	89	1	10
Children under 6 years old	86	1	13
Children under 18 years old	84	1	15

The trend is quite different from what we have found in other countries: the recent increase in out-of-wedlock births is reflected in the percentage of young children with mothers only, while divorces account for the percentage of children aged 18 and under who live with only one of their parents.

The distribution below for black families only is very different, owing to the number out-of-wedlock births and the greater instability of couples:

Children of black families	With both parents	With father only	With mother only
	Percentages		
Under 3 years old	64	1	35
Under 6 years old	61	1	38
Under 18 years old	57	2	41

This rather rough breakdown of families by age of children, is refined in Table II-X-4, where the earlier categories (number of children under 18, 6 and 3 years old by type of family nucleus) are combined with their age distribution as between 0, 6 and 18 years (all under 6 years, all between 6 and 18 years, and the rest)[1].

Table II-X-5 illustrates yet another method of analysing the composition of families. It shows the number of families with children under 3, 6, 12, 18 and 25 years old and the total number of children by family size for the two main types of family nucleus.

Table II-X-3

Characteristics of Families, March 1975

Thousands

Subject	United States			
	Total	Husband-wife families	Other families with male head	Families with female head
Own children under 18 years				
All families	55 712	46 971	1 499	7 242
No own children under 18 years	25 655	21 802	1 015	2 838
With own children under 18 years	30 057	25 169	484	4 404
1 own child under 18 years	10 964	8 925	234	1 805
2 own children under 18 years	10 036	8 639	149	1 247
3 own children under 18 years	5 190	4 461	54	675
4 own children under 18 years	2 304	1 899	28	377
5 own children under 18 years	899	734	10	155
6 or more own children under 18 years	663	510	9	144
Total own children under 18 years	62 733	52 611	895	9 227
Mean number	1.13	1.12	0.60	1.27
Mean number per family with children	2.09	2.09	1.85	2.10
Own children under 6 years				
All families	55 712	46 971	1 499	7 242
No own children under 6 years	41 900	35 041	1 393	5 466
With own children under 6 years	13 812	11 930	107	1 776
1 own child under 6 years	9 462	8 146	86	1 229
2 own children under 6 years	3 732	3 268	16	449
3 own children under 6 years	545	457	5	83
4 own children under 6 years	70	55	—	15
5 own children under 6 years	3	3	—	—
6 or more own children under 6 years	—	—	—	—
Total own children under 6 years	18 150	15 687	130	2 333
Mean number	0.33	0.33	0.09	0.32
Mean number per family with children	1.31	1.31	1.22	1.31
Own children under 3 years				
All families	55 712	46 971	1 499	7 242
No own children under 3 years	48 089	40 205	1 456	6 428
With own children under 3 years	7 623	6 766	43	813
1 own child under 3 years	6 748	6 003	37	708
2 own children under 3 years	839	735	6	98
3 own children under 3 years	36	29	—	7
4 own children under 3 years	—	—	—	—
5 or more own children under 3 years	—	—	—	—
Total own children under 3 years	8 400	7 453	50	896
Mean number	0.15	0.16	0.03	0.12
Mean number per family with children	1.10	1.10	(B)	1.10

A table non published here combines this information on children's ages with data on the family and the household. Compiled for the purposes of the latest Current Population Survey (March 1976)[2], it provides much more detail on the status of children by age and situation in the household. The comparison between black families and white families shows a predominance of only two situations representing

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[1] We have shown this breakdown solely for children under 3 years old.

[2] « Marital status and living arrangements: March 1976 », *Current Population Report* pp 20, 306. Washington: Bureau of Census 1977.

Table II-X-4a

Characteristics of husband-wife families, by age of head and presence and age of own children under 18 years old : March 1975

Thousands

Subject	All Husband-wife families	Head under 35 years				Head 35 to 44 years				Head 45 to 64 years		Head 65 and over
		No own children under 18	1 or more own child. under 18			No own children under 18	1 or more child. under 18			No own children under 18	1 or more own children under 18	
			All under 6	Some under 6 some 6 to 17	All 6 to 17		All under 6	Some under 6 some 6 to 17	All 6 to 17			
Own children under 3												
Total	46 971	3 987	5 572	2 947	1 752	986	596	2 155	5 323	10 361	6 634	6 658
No own children under 3	40 205	3 987	1 333	1 725	1 752	986	229	1 425	5 323	10 361	6 429	6 655
With own children under 3	6 766	—	4 239	1 222	—	—	367	730	—	—	205	3
1 own child under 3	6 003	—	3 721	1 120	—	—	316	658	—	—	185	3
2 own children under 3	735	—	500	94	—	—	51	71	—	—	19	—
3 own children under 3	29	—	18	8	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—
4 own children under 3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 or more own children under 3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total own children under 3	7 453	—	4 719	1 314	—	—	410	786	—	—	222	3
Mean number	0.16	—	0.85	0.45	—	—	0.69	0.36	—	—	0.03	(Z)
Mean number per family with children	1.10	—	1.11	1.08	—	—	1.12	1.08	—	—	1.08	(B)

Table II-X-4*b*

Characteristics of families with female head, by age of head, and age of own children : March 1975

Thousands

Subject	All families with female head	Head under 35				Head 35 to 44				Head 45 to 64		Head 65 and over
		No own children under 18	1 or more own child. under 18			No own children under 18	1 or more own child. under 18			No own children under 18	1 or more own children under 18	
			All under 6	Some under 6, some 6 to 17	All 6 to 17		All under 6	Some under 6, some 6 to 17	All 6 to 17			
Own children under 3												
Total	5 212	88	582	380	459	138	26	131	734	1 112	652	909
No own children under 3	4 718	88	265	257	459	138	20	92	734	1 112	644	909
With own children under 3	494	—	317	124	—	—	7	39	—	—	8	—
1 own child under 3	441	—	285	110	—	—	5	33	—	—	8	—
2 own children under 3	48	—	30	12	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—
3 own children under 3	5	—	2	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
4 own children under 3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 or more own children under 3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total own children under 3	543	—	346	137	—	—	7	44	—	—	8	—
Mean number	0.10	—	0.59	0.36	—	—	(B)	0.34	--	—	0.01	—
Mean number per family with children	1.10	—	1.09	1.11	—	—	(B)	(B)	—	—	(B)	—
Marital status of head												
Total	5 212	88	582	380	459	138	26	131	734	1 112	652	909
Married, husband absent	954	7	219	153	132	17	13	53	178	74	92	14
Separated	762	3	175	127	102	16	13	39	146	58	75	6
Husband absent in armed forces	49	—	20	9	9	—	—	3	6	2	—	—
Other	143	4	24	17	22	1	—	10	25	15	17	8
Widowed	2 053	1	30	14	26	25	3	19	136	655	354	788
Divorced	1 714	17	216	191	284	55	8	58	410	245	202	27
Single	491	63	115	22	17	41	2	2	11	137	3	80

Table II-X-5

Characteristics of families by type and size : March 1975
Thousands

Subject	Total	Size of family					
		2 persons	3 persons	4 persons	5 persons	6 persons	7 persons or more
HUSBAND-WIFE							
Age of own children							
Total families	46 971	16 760	9 922	9 837	5 689	2 654	2 108
With own children of any age	29 232	—	9 123	9 707	5 660	2 639	2 103
Under 25 years	28 175	—	8 362	9 552	5 581	2 605	2 074
Under 18 years	25 169	—	6 507	8 685	5 371	2 561	2 045
Under 12 years	19 072	—	4 718	6 348	4 092	2 089	1 825
Under 6 years	11 930	—	3 671	4 080	2 181	1 009	989
Under 3 years	6 766	—	2 461	2 335	1 073	466	431
Total own children	64 948	—	9 279	18 676	15 992	9 857	11 144
Under 25 years	62 908	—	8 342	18 193	15 708	9 696	10 970
Under 18 years	52 611	—	6 346	15 290	13 370	8 291	9 315
Under 12 years	33 217	—	4 590	10 817	8 373	4 637	4 801
Under 6 years	15 687	—	3 574	5 944	3 235	1 450	1 484
Under 3 years	7 453	—	2 432	2 689	1 261	553	518
FEMALE HEAD							
Age of own children							
Total families	7 242	3 224	1 847	1 005	555	318	293
With own children of any age	6 124	2 348	1 687	964	537	306	283
Under 25 years	5 181	1 738	1 492	903	494	287	266
Under 18 years	4 404	1 324	1 277	827	456	271	248
Under 12 years	3 160	670	885	599	357	223	226
Under 6 years	1 776	570	470	314	179	107	135
Under 3 years	813	249	227	131	72	59	76
Total own children	12 942	2 535	3 140	2 595	1 826	1 250	1 596
Under 25 years	11 359	1 743	2 730	2 425	1 726	1 190	1 544
Under 18 years	9 225	1 286	2 178	2 011	1 441	1 008	1 302
Under 12 years	5 395	843	1 450	1 225	796	536	745
Under 6 years	2 333	549	669	450	265	165	234
Under 3 years	896	245	254	152	88	64	93

98 per cent of cases for white families and a wide spread of situations for black families. It will therefore be seen that the other tables tended to exaggerate the « normalcy » of situations, since they took account of « own children » only, i.e. children attached to the head of household by a kinship link. They thus overlooked the fact that 0.4 per cent of children under 3 live outside their family or else have no relationship with the head of household (3.5 per cent of very young children are no doubt in foster homes), and that only 83 per cent of these very young children are in the typical situation of having their two parents with the father as head of household. The normalising tendency of such statistics is again evident. The statistical services do not have the means of differentiating sufficiently to bring the marginal cases into focus, nor perhaps is this their purpose.

Chapter XI

HOUSEHOLDS AND FAMILY IN MEDITERRANEAN CENSUSES: GREECE, ITALY, SPAIN, PORTUGAL

These four countries have been grouped together because they have common cultural traits, but above all because of their lack of data concerning early childhood.

It may be that these data exist and that we failed to find them, but if so they lie outside the traditional censuses and statistics on population movements in Greece ; for example, all we found was a sample survey of 3 755 households during the year 1964[1].

At least one point these countries have in common is the precision of their definition of households, and the fact that households are confused with the family, which is often designated by the same word : *famiglia* in Italian, *familia* in Spanish and *familia* in Portuguese.

1. THE GREEK HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

This survey was essentially concerned with the housing conditions of the population, but several related results can be derived to provide some information on childhood.

The Greek definition of the household is very simple : « ... persons related or not, in the same dwelling and making common provision for food ». The accompanying explanations indicate the order of importance of the criteria : first the shared dwelling, and then which groups or persons share their meals. The only major difficulty arises with absent residents. Only those absent for less than a month are counted. This is one extreme : Italy goes to the other, and persons may have been absent for up to five years before they are no longer counted in the household.

The head of household in Greece is the person considered by all the other members to be responsible for taking the important decisions. In doubtful cases, the owner or tenant was designated, subject to the following provisos :

- The husband in a couple is always head of household, even if the wife owns the house ;
- If two people claim to be head of household, the male takes precedence over the female, and if they are of the same sex, the older of the two is chosen.

These rather complicated conditions are reminiscent of those found in Switzerland ; in both cases they are due to the failure to take account of several family nuclei in the same household, which confers a central role on the head of household.

Finally, there is the definition of the dwelling, which is the living quarters occupied by a household. This equates households and dwellings, but makes all their definitions rest on the vaguer concept of living quarters. Like many « household surveys », the Greek survey is concerned with households' expenditure and income, but it does use certain classifications of households to explain differences in behaviour, and these classifications can be used for our purposes here : number of members of the household, number of children under 16, relationship to the head of household.

To begin with the last of these categories, Table II-XI-1*a* combines size of households with 19 categories of members according to their relationship to the head of household and their sex. This is therefore the most comprehensive classification found so far. It comprises progenitors, offspring (since the position of the head of household is not fixed, though it would appear that he cannot be the grandson), direct collaterals and relatives by marriage, namely brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

In the pattern of numbers in each category, the action of stem families can be sensed underneath this two-dimensional classification. There are in fact three profiles : either the size of a relationship category grows with the size of the household, or it remains approximately the same, or it diminishes. This last phenomenon occurs only in the case of female heads of household — which is natural since, by definition, they cannot have husbands.

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[1] Household survey, National Statistical Service of Greece, Athens 1969.

Table II-XI-1 *a* and *b*

Household members classified according to relationship to head and according to : size of household, household composition

	Relationship to head																			
	Head male	Head female	Wife	Son	Daughter	Father	Mother	Father-in-law	Mother-in-law	Son-in-law	Daughter-in-law	Grandson	Granddaughter	Brother	Sister	Brother-in-law	Sister-in-law	Other males	Other females	Total
1*a*. NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS																				
1 member	98	191	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	289
2 members	452	150	375	56	73	1	30	—	—	—	3	2	7	4	26	—	—	11	14	1 204
3 members	578	107	536	343	313	2	47	3	13	3	11	13	18	11	19	—	3	13	22	2 055
4 members	748	59	722	765	678	10	57	3	25	5	37	32	26	4	13	—	2	16	26	3 228
5 members	593	35	577	773	754	23	86	5	44	13	54	56	44	11	20	1	3	18	30	3 140
6 members	373	17	358	589	533	19	78	10	29	11	87	80	88	12	25	1	4	18	8	2 340
7 members	187	11	182	340	305	14	39	5	10	9	65	94	70	9	10	—	4	10	22	1 386
8 members and over	153	3	146	393	286	14	37	2	15	6	71	91	88	15	10	—	10	25	19	1 384
Total	3 182	573	2 896	3 259	2 942	83	374	28	136	47	328	368	341	66	123	2	26	111	141	15 026
1*b*. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION																				
One adult only	97	190	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	287
2 adults only	447	116	375	44	56	1	30	—	—	—	3	1	2	4	26	—	—	8	13	1 126
2 adults, 1 child	252	18	246	132	122	—	2	—	2	—	2	9	15	2	1	—	1	4	2	810
2 adults, 2 children	335	11	332	371	310	—	2	—	1	—	—	8	8	—	—	—	1	1	4	1 384
2 adults, 3 children	140	4	140	219	205	—	—	—	2	—	1	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	3	720
3 adults only	323	63	290	181	164	2	45	3	11	3	9	4	3	9	18	—	2	9	19	1 158
3 adults, 1 child	182	22	172	161	152	6	34	2	13	3	13	20	16	—	4	—	—	5	11	816
3 adults, 2 children	148	11	141	172	170	9	39	1	20	3	11	22	22	2	5	—	1	5	13	795
4 adults only	231	14	218	214	199	4	21	1	11	2	24	4	2	4	9	—	1	10	11	980
All other households	1 027	124	982	1 765	1 564	61	201	21	76	36	265	297	270	45	60	2	20	69	65	6 950
Total	3 182	573	2 896	3 259	2 942	83	374	28	136	47	328	368	341	66	123	2	26	111	141	15 026

Conversely, the proportion of relatives by marriage, but more particularly that of grandchildren, grows steadily with the size of the household. The other advantage of this type classification is that it reveals some of the features of the Greek family system. For example, there is a higher proportion of sons than daughters because the latter leave home earlier (they marry younger).

The very small proportion of fathers and fathers-in-law shows that the older generations keep control of the family rather than being dismissed as « old » or « retired », and sometimes taken in by the family of one of their children, as happens in Western Europe.

Relatives by marriage of the female sex are much more numerous than those of the male sex (father-in-law, brother-in-law and son-in-law) — 490 compared with 77 (*87 per cent).* This is a patrilineal sign : women are incorporated into the husband's family.

Lastly, if sisters are more numerous than brothers, it is simply because of the choice of the head of family. This table does, therefore, give some idea of the composition of households, but a very imperfect one ; it still corresponds to a household typology whose influence is perceived without really being grasped.

The adjoining Table II-XI-1*b* gives an insight into the problems of childhood ; still on the basis of this broad classification of relationships, the composition of the household is considered according to the number of children. Here the child is not looked on as a descendant of its parents, but as an age category (although not explicitly stated, it can be seen from the tables that a child is always aged under 14). Unfortunately, fewer than half of the households are classified in this manner, which makes it impossible to determine which are the predominant situations for children.

Table II-XI-2 is more precise, but has the same failing : children aged under 6 are distributed according to their number in the household and the total number of household members. They tend to be concentrated in small-sized households, which suggests that the majority live in nuclear families.

Another way to read this table is to calculate the average number of children aged under 6 according to the size of the household :

Number of persons :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 +
Average number of children aged under 6	0	0.03	0.25	0.47	0.67	0.74	0.85	1.32

The increase in their proportion is partly due to their presence among the members of the household, but this effect can be countered by relating the children to the adults. The result is very much the same and shows that families with young children of fairly similar ages tend to be found among extended households.

It is difficult to go much further with these fragmentary data. However, this « household survey » can be used to show up certain things missing from the censuses — for instance, average consumption by main budget item according to the composition of the household. This economic aspect of a

Table II-XI-2

Households classified according to size of household and according to : number of children under 16 and number of children under 6

	Number of household members								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 and over	All households
Number of children under 16									
1	4	48	308	215	156	66	23	5	825
2	—	3	34	388	186	130	51	22	814
3	—	—	—	17	159	90	62	37	375
4	—	—	—	—	4	66	30	39	139
5	—	—	—	—	—	3	26	26	55
6 and over	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	25	26
without children under 16	285	551	343	187	113	35	5	2	1 521
All households	289	602	685	807	628	390	198	156	3 755
Number of children under 6									
1	—	16	165	203	159	121	71	48	783
2	—	—	5	89	59	75	47	47	322
3	—	—	—	—	15	6	7	13	41
4 and over	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6	7
without children under 6	289	586	515	515	395	188	72	42	2 602
All households	289	602	685	807	628	390	198	156	3 755

Table II-XI-3

Average weekly consumption (Drachmas) according to the type of expenditure and family composition

	1 adult	2 adults	1 adult + 1 child	2 adults + 2 children	2 adults + 3 children	3 adults	3 adults + 1 child	3 adults + 2 children
Dwelling	26.0	55.8	82.5	79.0	57.2	56.8	64.9	73.9
Food	75.6	141.8	165.7	185.4	171.9	196.9	191.7	210.7
Clothing	37.1	41.4	57.9	60.9	53.4	85.0	69.9	70.5
Durables	23.2	23.5	30.3	26.9	27.0	41.6	25.1	31.3
Transport and communication	7.1	13.9	10.1	19.7	13.3	30.2	21.0	12.2
Medical care	10.9	38.1	42.2	41.1	30.9	54.1	51.7	41.5
Miscellaneous	41.9	40.7	46.0	45.3	42.0	52.8	54.3	44.6
Consumption of own output	76.0	147.6	164.0	201.2	210.5	213.5	219.1	252.8
Total	297.9	504.2	598.6	659.6	606.1	728.7	704.8	718.5

child's life has hitherto been totally neglected. It is right at least to touch on it because it is a very important factor for differentiating between families' living conditions according to their size (this was noted with respect to incomes in the New Zealand tables).

Table II-XI-3 illustrates a similar phenomenon : the level of expenditure does not increase very much with the number of children ; only the pattern of the different items changes. Consequently, the living conditions of children in large families will be not only less good, but above all different.

This table is indicative of a complex chain of causes, a whole field of social and economic forces ; not every category of household has the same age structure, the same socio-economic composition or the same type of accommodation. It is known that farmers spend less on their dwellings and food, but they have smaller incomes and bigger families.

Put another way, explaining this table would be a gamble, but its implications as regards childhood are patently obvious : large families have a lower per capita standard of living than small families (even when different coefficients are applied to each member of the household, such as those of the Oxford scale). It is consumption of own output which compensates for the most obvious imbalances — for example, expenditure on food depends, not on the number of children, but only on the number of adults !

We can conclude this brief review with a more general remark. The inadequacy of the data is due here to ignorance of the family. The failure to identify family nuclei, which constitute the intermediate levels of the household, means that a large proportion of the explanations are lost since the key element in the structure of households is not there. This neglect of the family is partly due to the economic orientation of the survey, but partly also to a phenomenon that recurs in the case of Italy, Spain and Portugal, namely the merging of households and families.

2. THE ITALIAN CENSUS

Volume IV (*Famiglie e convivenze*) of the 1971 Italian census came out in 1976. This massive work contains a wealth of information on economic questions relating to the family, but there are very few of the social details found in the censuses of neighbouring countries.

Table II-XI-4

Households according to type

Type of household	Household	Members									
		Head of family and relatives							Other members (aggregated persons)		Total
		Head of family		Spouse	Children	Other relatives	Total		Total	Of which domestic servants	
		M	F				MF	M			
Italy	15 981 177	13 273 751	2 707 426	11 779 101	21 216 227	4 180 479	53 156 984	26 097 459	332 387	77 011	53 489 371
Type A	2 164 415	729 516	1 434 899	—	—	—	2 164 415	729 516	141 773	20 023	2 306 188
Type B	2 477 667	2 462 635	15 032	2 477 667	—	—	4 955 334	2 477 667	21 289	8 848	4 976 623
Type C	8 637 348	7 827 807	809 541	7 632 224	17 777 885	—	34 047 457	17 337 496	118 485	36 024	34 165 942
Type D	2 701 747	2 253 793	447 954	1 669 210	3 438 342	4 180 479	11 989 778	5 552 780	50 840	12 116	12 040 618

The household is called family and is defined as a « group of people related by marriage, blood, affinal ties, adoption, affiliation, guardianship or affective ties, living together and providing for their requirements by pooling all or part of their earned or unearned income ».

Added to this family are domestic servants and lodgers living with the family (i.e. people who are in fact excluded from the definition, unless it is assumed that they have affective ties with the members of the household) ; they are called « aggregated » persons. The Italian census-takers then identify four different types of household :

a) the head of family alone (with or without aggregated persons) ;
b) the head of household and his wife ;
c) the head of household and his wife and children, but also a head of household alone and children (with or without aggregated persons) ;
d) the precedings types plus relatives.

The head of household is « the one who exercises paternal authority or guardianship, or who manages the family's interest ». The situation is quite clear, and members of the family are spared the trouble of appointing their head. The family head is produced by the structure itself. However, this over-simple classification is rather curious in that it does not break down households where they are normally broken down. Thus, households with a single family nucleus come next to multifamily households in case *d*, above. So couples and single parents are grouped together provided that they have children.

Finally, on the subject of definitions, the term « convivenza » means institutional households, but the members thereof are permanent, since military personnel, novitiates, patients in hospitals for less than two years and prisoners given sentences of less than 5 years, are reassigned to the resident population.

Only two tables are of interest with regard to childhood : Table II-XI-4 combines household types with the relationship of members to the head of household. This is a very summary classification which is reduced to direct relationships, marriage and filiation, and the distinction between relatives and other persons.

The results provide a sort of statistical justification for choosing 4 types of household in that they are all well represented. It is a pity, however, that the 12 million members of multiple families are all grouped together, and that no distinction is made between couples and single parents in the 8 million families included in type *c*. « Aggregated persons » represent a negligible quantity (0.6 per cent of the population), but « other relatives » account for 8 per cent. 85 per cent of children live in households reduced to one-family nuclei.

The second table (II-XI-5) is quite traditional. It cross-relates household types with size for the whole of Italy and for two of its most dissimilar parts : the town of Turin and the province of Umbria.

The differences in distribution according to size are not as great as those encountered in other countries, but the differences according to type remain very pronounced.

No other information on households is available ; in particular, there are no distributions of children by age and by type of family. The same problems are

Table II-XI-5

Resident households according to size and type, by provinces

Province or region Type of family	Number of members									Total		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more		Households	Members	
								Households	Members		MF	M
Turin	130 330	204 073	206 120	146 796	56 620	19 731	7 465	6 030	53 816	777 165	2 251 577	1 105 944
Type A	130 330	5 742	805	274	95	44	19	22	205	137 331	146 402	57 273
Type B	—	150 074	933	74	8	3	—	2	21	151 094	303 322	151 421
Type C	—	23 746	180 915	120 747	37 118	11 415	4 611	3 627	31 925	382 179	1 391 507	708 665
Type D	—	24 511	23 467	25 701	19 399	8 269	2 835	2 379	21 665	106 561	410 346	188 585
Umbria	22 555	44 897	52 776	51 675	28 103	12 868	4 517	4 398	40 451	221 789	767 170	380 739
Type A	22 555	772	111	32	14	9	2	1	8	23 496	24 706	8 754
Type B	—	33 076	220	20	9	2	1	—	—	33 328	66 956	33 420
Type C	—	5 869	45 197	38 713	10 473	2 457	657	404	3 520	103 770	377 407	193 937
Type D	—	5 180	7 248	12 910	17 607	10 400	3 857	3 993	36 923	61 195	298 101	144 628
Italy	2 061 978	3 509 531	3 582 074	3 390 154	1 892 892	842 727	365 807	336 014	3 020 022	15 981 177	53 489 371	26 192 034
Type A	2 061 978	80 837	12 555	4 715	2 384	981	446	519	5 083	2 164 415	2 306 188	769 925
Type B	—	2 459 123	16 648	1 411	313	105	39	28	321	2 477 667	4 976 623	2 482 954
Type C	—	545 199	3 096 968	2 828 877	1 284 177	483 116	210 281	188 730	1 677 584	8 637 348	34 165 942	17 368 737
Type D	—	424 372	455 903	555 151	606 018	358 525	155 041	146 737	1 337 034	2 701 747	12 040 618	5 570 418

Distribution of persons by type of household	Turin	Umbria
A	6.5	3.2
B	13.5	8.7
C	61.7	49.2
D	18.3	38.9
1 person	5.8	3.0
2 persons	18.2	11.8
3 persons	27.5	20.7
4 persons	25.9	20.4
5 persons	12.6	18.2
6 persons	5.3	10.0
7 persons	2.3	4.1
8 persons and over	2.4	5.3

found with the 1970 Spanish census : very summary type classification of households, merging of household and family, lack of statistics on children.

3. THE SPANISH CENSUS

Volume III of the 1970 census contains a number of tables concerning the family but the description does not go very far, although the household breakdown is a little more detailed than in the two previous examples.

In line with the United Nations recommendations, the household, *familia*, is defined as « a group of persons, usually related to each other, who live together and generally occupy an entire dwelling ». This is a very noncommittal definition since it makes successive allusions to kinship and dwelling, while the term « living together », *hacen vida en commun*, has various connotations : it can mean pooling one's resources, spending them jointly, or living side by side.

The household is divided fairly conventionally into the following types :

1. single persons ;
2. families with no family nucleus (differentiated according to whether or not their members are related to each other) ;
3. families with a family nucleus (differentiated according to whether they are alone or with other persons) ;
4. families with two family nuclei ; these must be related and a distinction is made between parent/child nuclei and the others ;
5. families with three or more family nuclei (they must be related).

The family nucleus can take one of four habitual forms : couple without children, couple with children, father with children and mother *with children*.

Since there can be several nuclei in the household, the question of the head of family is less crucial and is settled by a statement on the part of those concerned (the other members of the household must recognise the family head as such).

Lastly, the dwelling does not coincide exactly with the family since two families can co-reside, sharing some rooms and keeping others for themselves. It would seem, in fact, that the extension of the household is determined by family relationships, since two nuclei with no family link cannot form a household. This just leaves the question of individual persons, and they are usually classified with the household whose dwelling they share. It is therefore an exaggeration to say that the concept of the housekeeping unit is used here. It is more like a « household-family », as in Greece and Italy, and as will be found explicitly defined in Portugal. Lastly, of course, there are non-family households : members of institutional households.

Unfortunately all these definitions are hardly tested since they appear only in Table II-XI-6. Here, the types of household are distributed according to the number of members, as are the types of family nucleus. The same table has been compiled for urban and for rural areas.

The type classifications have been described in connection with the definitions. The results are in line with what is known about neighbouring countries. There are very few multifamily households — 8 per cent in rural areas and 5 per cent in towns. Family nuclei are small and the different types are almost identically distributed in urban and rural areas — for entirely different reasons, to do with age structure and fertility.

4. PORTUGAL

The Portuguese census defines the household in terms of use of the same dwelling, and the one-family dwelling (or hearth) as any dwelling intended for the accommodation of a one-family unit. The only way to get out of this circle is to go back to the exact definition of the household : « a group of persons linked by legitimate or illegitimate kinship who habitually utilise the same accommodation, and an individual occupying an accommodation ». The domestic employees of families and individuals residing with them are considered « to be part of the family ».

So it is kinship which is at the root of the definition, and the dwelling merely restricts it to the members present. Thus, the strength of the family as the basic social cell emerges even more clearly than in the other Latin countries. The publication containing the results on families for the 1970 census is not available yet — only a few indicators[2]. We shall therefore consider the results of the previous census in 1960 which, in Volume II, deals with

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[2] « The population of Portugal », UNO-CICRED, 1974.

Table II-XI-6

Households and family nuclei by composition, number and type of residence

Households and family nuclei	Households or nuclei according to the number of members										
	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 or more
Households	8 853 660	660 353	1 597 532	1 701 321	1 928 369	1 367 895	798 317	406 669	210 904	88 152	94 148
With no family nucleus	940 053	660 353	202 352	54 144	15 819	4 737	1 502	630	331	92	93
One person	660 353	660 353	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Related persons	225 467	—	161 030	45 775	13 044	3 853	1 120	414	161	54	16
Unrelated persons	54 233	—	41 322	8 369	2 775	884	382	216	170	38	77
With a family nucleus	7 397 707	—	1 395 180	1 647 177	1 860 089	1 245 246	651 182	311 525	157 849	65 098	64 361
Without either persons	6 084 423	—	1 395 180	1 410 694	1 565 147	887 234	431 717	202 328	104 650	44 598	42 835
With other persons (of which domestic servants)	105 212	—	—	16 734	17 786	20 395	19 258	13 931	8 358	3 664	5 086
With other persons (but not domestic servants)	1 208 072	—	—	219 749	277 156	337 617	200 207	95 266	44 801	16 836	16 440
Households with two family nuclei	496 805	—	—	—	52 461	117 912	144 641	91 977	48 794	19 936	21 084
Fathers and children	464 147	—	—	—	48 178	111 206	136 882	86 113	44 744	18 242	18 782
Others	32 658	—	—	—	4 283	6 706	7 759	5 864	4 050	1 694	2 302
Families with three or more family nuclei	19 095	—	—	—	—	—	992	2 537	3 930	3 026	8 610
Family nuclei	8 448 602	—	2 146 559	1 977 660	2 109 530	1 164 798	555 949	257 214	127 448	55 799	53 645
Couple without unmarried children	1 700 852	—	1 700 852	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Couple with unmarried children	5 916 595	—	—	1 762 879	2 013 795	1 123 377	537 644	248 712	123 584	54 250	52 354
Father only with unmarried children	179 432	—	89 016	47 034	23 739	10 563	4 875	2 205	1 153	472	375
Mother only with unmarried children	651 723	—	356 691	167 747	71 996	30 858	13 430	6 297	2 711	1 077	916

Table II-XI-7

Families, grouped according to the number of persons by type of family, in the districts and «concelhos»

Districts and types of family	Total		Families according to the number of persons											
	Families	Persons	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 to 14	15 to 19	20 or more
Total (mainland and islands)	2 356 982	8 777 157	253 848	460 694	526 289	430 197	282 268	174 274	104 739	60 658	33 441	30 053	502	14
Households without children	420 988	978 133	—	328 258	65 065	18 190	5 844	2 122	853	371	164	118	2	1
Households with children and no other relatives	1 119 145	5 086 456	—	—	378 852	302 950	181 718	109 778	66 595	39 020	21 228	18 790	211	3
Households with children and other relatives	240 136	1 396 263	—	—	—	59 857	66 612	47 061	29 239	17 238	10 116	9 750	254	9
Persons with children but without other relatives	139 584	420 189	—	66 984	36 290	18 635	9 374	4 619	2 105	995	368	212	2	..
Persons with children and other relatives	51 813	246 224	—	—	14 229	13 736	9 939	6 182	3 713	1 979	1 090	916	28	1
Other persons	114 398	356 958	—	51 949	29 167	16 241	8 612	4 440	2 203	1 040	471	270	5	..
Individuals	270 918	292 934	253 848	13 503	2 686	588	169	72	31	15	4	2	..	..
Braga	131 060	690 320	13 255	18 945	20 055	19 911	17 298	13 988	10 556	7 373	4 639	4 945	93	2
Households without children	14 764	35 286	—	11 119	2 424	753	263	97	45	31	21	11	..	..
Households with children but without other relatives	65 137	357 355	—	—	12 024	13 412	11 794	9 489	7 201	4 974	3 087	3 121	34	1
Households with children and other relatives	14 286	97 273	—	—	—	1 875	2 604	2 739	2 351	1 816	1 240	1 606	54	1
Persons with children but without other relatives	9 727	31 481	—	4 153	2 405	1 469	835	460	206	123	50	26	..	..
Persons with children and other relatives	4 879	25 143	—	—	1 078	1 095	964	672	472	282	165	146	5	..
Other persons	8 030	28 234	—	2 928	1 940	1 273	830	525	278	146	76	34	..	..
Individuals	14 237	15 548	13 255	745	184	34	8	6	3	1	..	1	..	..
Faro	93 914	313 371	9 146	21 977	24 918	19 001	10 177	4 953	2 069	967	446	259	1	..
Households without children	20 989	47 119	—	17 143	2 898	700	186	37	17	4	4	..	..	..
Households with children but without other relatives	44 518	178 769	—	—	19 407	13 765	6 292	2 895	1 209	553	251	145	1	..
Households with children and other relatives	9 497	49 998	—	—	—	3 165	3 122	1 804	752	376	171	107	..	..
Persons with children but without other relatives	4 316	11 644	—	2 461	1 093	505	169	57	20	5	4	2	..	..
Persons with children and other relatives	1 289	5 382	—	—	460	425	238	93	44	18	8	3	..	..
Other persons	3 707	10 327	—	1 990	1 001	433	169	66	27	11	8	2	..	..
Individuals	9 598	10 132	9 146	383	59	8	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..

families, institutional households and resident and present-in-area population by *freguesias* and *concelhos*, districts and urban centres. Family, *familia*, is translated here as household, while institutional household, *convinvença*, remains the same.

The first strongly familial aspect appears in the definition of the resident population: all minors engaged in studies or apprenticeships are redistributed in their families, as are military personnel, prisoners serving sentences of less than 5 years and all patients in hospitals, etc. The only table in the 1960 census of interest here is the one that describes households on the basis of 7 different types combined with the number of their members (II-XI-7).

The type classification is fairly rudimentary and combines family nuclei (couple without children, couple with children, parent with children) with the presence of other relatives en bloc ; domestic servants and unrelated persons are left out. Thus, a couple with no children residing with parents can only be classified in the « other persons » category, and the same with two sisters sharing a household. The interesting feature of the Portuguese census lies elsewhere : it publishes these tables for all the Provinces, and so reveals enormous differences, which are illustrated here by taking the same table for the province of Faro, where the average size of households is 3.34 persons, and Braga where the average size is 4.50.

Lastly, the CICRED study already mentioned provides some information on the 1970 census concerning families rather than households, and in particular the breakdown into four types of family nucleus :

Type	Number of principal nuclei	Number of children	
		Total	Per nucleus
Couple without children	527 340		
Couple with children	1 304 060	3 079 240	2.36
Father with children	72 580	150 160	2.06
Mother with children	187 420	367 440	1.96

The same source also gives the number of children per couple (the distribution of the children is calculated).

Number of children	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 +
Number of couples in thousands	527	503	381	179	102	57	37	22	13	11
Number of couples in per cent	28.8	27.4	20.8	9.8	5.6	3.1	2.0	1.2	0.7	0.6
Distribution of children in per cent	0	16.3	24.7	17.5	13.3	9.2	7.1	5.0	3.3	3.6

60 per cent of children still live in families with more than two children, but it must be remembered that there is no indication of the age of these children, consequently this table gives a picture of childhood that could be a little outdated.

This look at Portugal concludes our review of the Mediterranean countries. The relative inadequacy of the data is all the more regrettable in that the family in Portugal is of a type powerful enough for it to be possible to do away with the separate notion of the household, which would be the simplest way of unifying the two concepts that present so many difficulties.

Chapter XII

THE FAMILY IN A FEW NORDIC COUNTRIES : FINLAND, SWEDEN, AND ICELAND

The reason why these countries have been grouped together is that in their case it was not possible to obtain enough reliable information on several points, either because it was not provided in recent censuses or because it could not be traced. The most important data that are missing concern the links between family and household. Nevertheless, some information on children in the family or in the household has been obtained for these countries, and some early data have been retrieved for Iceland.

1. FINLAND

a) *General*

Two large volumes of the 1970 census publication contain the findings on families (VII : *Perheet*) and households (VI : *Ruokakuntien Rakenne*).

The definition adopted for the household since the 1950 census is a perfect example of the housekeeping unit : persons living in a housing unit who combine to provide themselves with food and other essentials.

The problem of *de facto, de jure* or resident populations is easily settled as individuals must be enumerated where they reside. As shown in Table II-XII-1, the size distribution of households is changing quite quickly.

The distribution of the population living outside conurbations compares almost exactly with the 1950 distribution throughout the country, no doubt reflecting the survival of larger families in rural areas and in the north of the country. The average size of households was 2.99 persons in 1970, but there are wide regional disparities, for example 2.58 persons in the Province of Nyland and 3.61 in Lappland.

The household is broken down by family types, according to the family nucleus principle :

A. Non-family households (containing no family).

B. One-family households :
- alone,
- with relatives,
- with relatives *and* non-relatives.

C. Two-family households :
- families in direct line,
- indirectly related families,
- unrelated families.

D. Households with three or more families :
- related families,
- others.

This classification seems to be somewhat equivocal and combines two principles, namely linkage of family nuclei and the presence of relatives or other individuals, but neither is fully developed. Table II-XII-2 breaks down these household types by number of members and shows the total number of persons in each type.

Three-quarters of the population live in households consisting solely of the family nucleus, a proportion more or less constant for all provinces (it is the size of families that accounts for the differences in household size).

Table II-XII-1

Households by size

Percentages

Census year	1950	1960	1970	1970 population outside conurbations
1 person	18.5	21.5	23.9	18.1
2 persons	18.0	19.4	22.1	20.1
3 persons	18.5	17.8	19.2	17.3
4 persons	16.6	16.2	16.8	16.5
5 persons	11.4	10.8	9.3	11.8
6 or more persons	17.0	14.2	8.7	16.2
Number of households	1 121 279	1 315 434	1 518 819	

The negligible proportion of multi-family households is no doubt explained by the restricted type classification and the fact that it is little used (it does not appear in other tables). We have only a few data on the relationship of members to the head of household, and we shall take them as a starting point for the study of children by comparing the distribution of these relationships for the last two censuses.

Table II-XII-2

Households by type and number of persons : whole country

	Households		Persons		Number of persons per household								
	Total	%	Total	%	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Whole country - all households	1 518 819	100.0	4 540 945	100.0	363 337	335 929	291 161	255 764	141 036	69 649	32 966	16 157	12 820
Non-family households	417 622	27.5	485 921	10.7	363 337	44 737	6 833	1 766	555	186	110	45	53
One family households	1 069 969	70.4	3 863 490	85.1	—	291 192	284 328	249 062	132 910	61 672	27 556	13 094	10 155
Alone	967 820	63.7	3 376 770	74.4	—	291 192	258 468	224 204	109 125	47 437	20 440	9 606	7 348
With relatives	76 893	5.1	368 072	8.1	—	—	19 054	18 678	17 935	10 928	5 447	2 682	2 169
With relatives and unrelated persons	25 256	1.7	118 649	2.6	—	—	6 806	6 180	5 850	3 307	1 669	806	638
Two family households	30 674	2.0	186 681	4.1	—	—	—	4 936	7 571	7 748	5 180	2 887	2 352
Families in direct line	23 097	1.5	136 854	3.0	—	—	—	4 167	6 151	5 903	3 608	1 847	1 421
Families indirectly related	5 615	0.4	36 749	0.8	—	—	—	583	1 053	1 377	1 177	780	645
Unrelated families	1 962	0.1	13 078	0.3	—	—	—	186	367	468	395	260	286
Households of three or more families	554	0.0	4 853	0.1	—	—	—	—	—	43	120	131	260
Unrelated families	503	0.0	4 385	0.1	—	—	—	—	—	39	112	119	233
Others	51	0.0	468	0.0	—	—	—	—	—	4	8	12	27

Relationship to head of household	Number of persons	%	Number of persons	%
	1960		1970	
Head of household	1 315 434	29.9	1 518 819	33.4
Spouse	846 731	19.3	956 554	21.1
Child	1 872 438	42.6	1 795 472	39.5
Grandchild	58 016	1.3	40 731	0.9
Parent	101 938	2.3	81 176	1.8
Other	201 841	4.6	148 548	3.3

As will be seen, the distribution is changing fast. The marginal categories are diminishing most rapidly, but even the children are decreasing in number owing to declining fertility in Finland.

b) *Children in the family*

Although Finland uses the four types of family nuclei recommended by the United Nations, the definition of the family is somewhat broader because

Table II-XII-3

Families by type and by number and age of children under 18 years old

Number of children by age		Families			Father and mother		Mother with children			Father with children	
		Total	%	Number of children	Total	%	Total	%	Unmarried mothers	Total	%
Whole country. All families		1 134 778	100.0	1 345 089	982 563	100.0	132 374	100.0	14 532	19 841	100.0
Without children aged 0 to 17 years		457 743	40.3		380 487	38.7	66 071	49.9	4 018	11 185	56.4
1 child		287 649	25.3	287 649	242 131	24.6	40 224	30.4	9 330	5 294	26.7
Aged 0 to 6 years		129 275		129 275	114 758		13 354		5 337	1 163	
Aged 7 to 15 years		109 087		109 087	88 515		17 925		3 200	2 647	
Aged 16 to 17 years		49 287		49 287	38 858		8 945		793	1 484	
2 children		222 276	19.6	444 552	204 361	20.8	15 814	11.9	938	2 101	10.6
Aged 0 to 6 years :	0	103 847		207 694	91 766		10 511		358	1 570	
	1	53 979		107 958	50 877		2 821		249	281	
	2	64 450		128 900	61 718		2 482		331	250	
Aged 7 to 15 years :	0	70 806		141 612	67 254		3 184		356	368	
	1	86 358		172 716	78 734		6 737		331	887	
	2	65 112		130 224	58 373		5 893		251	846	
Aged 16 to 17 years :	0	180 308		360 616	167 989		10 961		818	1 358	
	1	38 845		77 690	33 815		4 386		108	644	
	2	3 123		6 246	2 557		467		12	99	
3 children		100 358	8.8	301 074	93 293	9.5	6 288	4.6	157	777	3.9
Aged 0 to 6 years :	0	41 733		125 199	37 256		3 926		58	551	
	1	33 887		101 661	32 200		1 534		36	153	
	2	14 641		43 923	14 094		511		36	36	
	3	10 097		30 291	9 743		317		27	37	
Aged 7 to 15 years :	0	10 827		32 481	10 412		372		28	43	
	1	22 693		68 079	21 478		1 093		41	122	
	2	45 912		137 736	42 477		3 060		53	375	
	3	20 926		62 778	18 926		1 763		35	237	
Aged 16 to 17 years :	0	73 298		219 894	69 073		3 799		130	426	
	1	23 877		71 631	21 455		2 131		24	291	
	2	3 107		9 321	2 698		350		3	59	
	3	76		228	67		8		—	1	
More than 4 children		66 752	5.9	311 814	62 291	6.3	3 977	3.0	89	484	2.4
Aged 0 to 6 years :	0	20 397		90 272	18 253		1 870		25	274	
	1	24 792		113 784	23 361		1 300		16	131	
	2	14 069		68 442	13 452		560		22	57	
	3	4 861		25 150	4 665		181		16	15	
	4+	2 633		14 166	2 560		66		10	7	
Aged 7 to 15 years :	0	1 496		6 219	1 444		49		6	3	
	1	4 221		17 722	4 034		168		14	19	
	2	15 381		64 844	14 523		778		21	80	
	3	25 206		111 146	23 400		1 619		22	187	
	4+	20 448		111 883	18 890		1 363		26	195	
Aged 16 to 17 years :	0	38 971		176 796	36 837		1 911		59	223	
	1	22 265		106 623	20 453		1 615		23	197	
	2	5 372		27 613	6 872		437		6	63	
	3	142		774	127		14		1	1	
	4+	2		8	2		—		—	—	

it takes no account of marriage for the formation of the couple and designation of the children.

A number of tables show how the children are distributed in family nuclei according to economic or social criteria, age group and marital status. We have selected those that covered certain aspects of early childhood.

The distribution of children by family type and size has the usual characteristics : the greater the number of children, the more often both parents are present :

Number of children	Couple with children	Mother with children	Father with children
1	242 131	40 224	5 294
2	204 361	15 814	2 101
3	93 293	6 288	777
4 or more	62 291	3 977	484

The reason for this distribution is that there is a bias at the two extremes : the older children have lost one of their parents, while the younger ones may be legitimised subsequently. This is verified by the data for children under 7 years old :

	Couple	Mother only	Father only
Number of children under 7 years old	453 749	27 880	2 298
Percentage	94	5.5	0.5
Total number of children	1 568 591	222 171	32 902
Percentage	86	12	2

Table II-XII-3 is the first major table giving the breakdown of families by age of children (0-6, 7-15 and 16-17 years) and by number of children in each separate age group. This method does not, however, enable us to determine the exact composition of the families. The different columns apportion these figures among the three types of family nucleus (unmarried mothers are differentiated in the second type).

A comparable Table (II-XII-4) classifies families by the age of the youngest child and the number of children. Only the figures for total families have been given, but they exist for a whole range of geographic or social sub-populations.

Lastly, Table II-XII-5 is more original in that it links children by year of age with their parents, according to a fairly comprehensive classification that takes account of economic activity and marital status of family heads ; couples of which both members are working ; then, in the case of one-parent families, mothers only, followed by fathers only, the proportion of those who work and their marital status (unmarried, married, separated, divorced, widowed). This table shows how mothers tend to return to work after the birth of their children.

Table II-XII-4

Women by composition of their family and age of youngest child

Number and age of children by marital status of women		Total
Total		1 114 937
Without children		260 562
1 child		343 445
	0-6 years	125 313
	7-15 years	65 555
	16 years and over	152 577
2 children		273 102
Age of youngest :	0-6 years	114 575
	7-15 years	96 605
	16 years and over	61 922
3 children		133 450
Age of youngest :	0-6 years	57 937
	7-15 years	58 324
	16 years and over	17 189
4 children or more		104 378
Age of youngest :	0-6 years	52 729
	7-15 years	46 437
	16 years and over	5 212
Unmarried women		15 824
Without children		—
1 child		13 497
	0-6 years	5 693
	7-15 years	3 169
	16 years and over	4 635
2 children		1 665
Age of youngest :	0-6 years	759
	7-15 years	533
	16 years and over	373
3 children		374
Age of youngest :	0-6 years	182
	7-15 years	149
	16 years and over	43
4 children or more		288
Age of youngest :	0-6 years	166
	7-15 years	115
	16 years and over	7

2. SWEDEN

The 1970 census concentrated on interrelating socio-economic, housing and income data collected at separate stages. The family and households therefore received less direct attention in the section devoted to them (9 : *Lägenheter, hushall och familjer ihela riket, lånen)*, where the household is defined by the dwelling and the dwelling by its physical characteristics (rooms, shared areas, separate access from the outside).

The breakdown of the household by family types (Table II-XII-6 cross-classified with the size of the household) is fairly simple, but for the first time it combines an age criterion with family ties. As in Finland, households are broken down into family nuclei and classified according to the number of nuclei : none, one, two or more.

Table II-XII-5

Families by type, economic activity and marital status of head and by number of children under 13 years of age ; separately children between 0 and 12 years of age by age ; whole country

Type of household, economic activity and marital status	Total families	Number of children	Families with children under 13 years old	Number of children	Families with children under 6 years old	Number of children	Children by age								
							0	1	2	3	4	5	6	0-6	7-12
Total families	1 134 778	1 823 664	539 318	1 270 427	352 684	793 278	60 310	63 205	68 583	71 589	72 339	73 022	75 179	484 227	458 418
Couple with infants	722 001	1 568 591	490 654	1 169 288	327 428	746 182	57 044	59 637	64 561	67 136	67 582	68 000	69 789	453 749	418 213
Man and woman working	374 951	789 260	268 270	602 576	170 191	363 489	24 742	27 673	31 424	33 568	34 358	34 797	36 583	223 145	228 452
Mother with children	132 374	222 171	43 663	90 336	23 126	42 972	3 010	3 314	3 703	4 063	4 355	4 550	4 885	27 880	35 607
Mother working	77 881	136 033	35 461	69 376	18 478	32 223	1 996	2 423	2 903	3 208	3 498	3 676	3 976	21 680	28 118
Unmarried	11 488	13 113	7 567	8 824	5 291	6 069	957	1 005	915	822	729	635	579	5 642	2 728
Married	8 246	14 276	5 542	9 943	3 787	6 226	701	676	715	687	614	581	585	4 559	3 384
Separated	3 358	6 123	2 567	4 804	1 738	3 032	75	258	369	385	399	365	336	2 187	1 727
Divorced	23 945	42 050	12 422	24 705	5 608	10 922	198	372	682	995	1 321	1 515	1 719	6 802	11 761
Widowed	30 844	60 471	7 363	21 100	2 054	5 974	65	112	222	319	435	580	757	2 490	8 518
Father with children	19 841	32 902	5 001	10 803	2 130	4 124	256	254	319	390	402	472	505	2 598	4 598
Father working	12 498	22 200	4 594	9 744	1 997	3 850	235	235	298	367	386	445	477	2 443	4 189
Unmarried	612	775	352	470	206	277	60	32	32	34	26	31	24	239	189
Married	2 219	3 904	1 169	2 292	682	1 196	114	110	114	133	142	124	122	859	872
Separated	510	796	300	487	168	248	19	20	24	41	29	34	34	201	199
Divorced	2 610	4 099	1 226	2 181	487	825	37	44	64	85	93	115	135	573	1 116
Widowed	6 547	12 626	1 547	4 314	454	1 304	5	29	64	74	96	141	162	571	1 813

Table II-XII-6

Households by household composition, type of family, number of occupants and number of households with aliens

Types of family	Total households	Number of members					Total Number of members	Households with an alien	Of which:				Number of members of households with at least 1 alien	Of which:
		1	2	3	4	5 +			Solely with alien	With aliens and Swedes: Alien head of household	With aliens and Swedes: Swede head of household	With aliens and Swedes: Without head of household		number of aliens
Whole country	3 050 354	771 289	902 569	590 360	497 131	289 005	7 915 132	162 638	91 159	24 847	46 589	43	519 240	375 528
A. Households without a family	1 032 814	771 289	215 921	36 586	7 118	1 900	1 351 623	44 657	32 082	2 550	9 983	42	72 483	56 751
B. One-family households	1 952 092	—	686 648	525 818	473 493	266 133	6 290 269	109 247	56 048	20 789	32 410	—	405 976	292 777
Couple without children	903 582	—	638 961	200 384	53 699	10 538	2 148 638	23 902	10 983	4 842	8 077	—	58 365	39 516
Couple only	638 961	—	638 961	—	—	—	1 277 922	16 946	8 696	3 857	4 393	—	33 892	25 642
With adult children only	221 315	—	—	173 126	41 976	6 213	719 259	2 460	1 334	613	513	—	8 048	6 067
With other adults only	30 493	—	—	27 258	2 683	552	95 463	3 440	835	325	2 280	—	11 561	6 106
With both	12 813	—	—	—	9 040	3 773	55 994	1 056	118	47	891	—	4 864	1 701
Couple with children	935 035	—	—	285 100	402 770	247 165	3 811 284	74 219	39 671	14 459	20 089	—	312 116	229 305
Couple only	750 694	—	—	285 100	318 462	147 132	2 913 528	60 613	32 658	12 721	15 234	—	240 234	180 275
With adult children only	142 279	—	—	—	72 881	69 398	678 151	4 116	2 373	845	898	—	21 726	16 818
With other adults only	33 797	—	—	—	11 427	22 370	170 627	8 528	4 401	830	3 297	—	44 070	29 551
With both	8 265	—	—	—	—	8 265	48 978	962	239	63	660	—	6 086	2 661
One parent with children	113 475	—	47 687	40 334	17 024	8 430	330 347	11 126	5 394	1 488	4 244	—	35 495	23 956
One person only	75 247	—	47 687	19 574	5 900	2 086	187 677	6 124	3 837	773	1 514	—	16 190	12 984
With adult children only	14 833	—	—	8 177	4 349	2 307	54 532	649	305	84	160	—	2 175	1 658
With other adults only	20 832	—	—	12 583	5 481	2 768	75 340	4 094	1 196	594	2 304	—	15 328	8 574
With both	2 563	—	—	—	1 294	1 269	12 798	359	56	37	266	—	1 802	740
C. Other one-family households	45 346	—	—	27 956	11 203	6 187	162 415	5 272	1 632	1 235	2 404	1	19 895	12 715
Couple without children	6 577	—	—	4 570	1 498	509	22 373	582	140	40	402	—	2 095	1 279
Couple with children	3 173	—	—	89	1 161	1 923	15 526	479	138	23	318	—	2 354	1 509
One parent with children	35 596	—	—	23 297	8 544	3 755	124 516	4 211	1 354	1 172	1 684	1	15 446	9 927
D. Two family households	19 872	—	—	—	5 317	14 555	108 969	3 370	1 344	269	1 757	—	20 097	12 717
E. Households of three or more families	230	—	—	—	—	230	1 856	92	53	4	35	—	789	568

Table II-XII-7

Families by marital status. Number of children in different age groups. The whole country

Type of family and marital status	All families	Families by number of children under 18 years old					Number of families with children in age group				Number of children				Children in the following age groups for 100 families			
		0	1	2	3	4 +	0-6 years	7-15 years	16-17 years	0-17 years	0-6 years	7-15 years	16-17 years	0-17 years	0-6 years	7-15 years	16-17 years	0-17 years
Married couples	1 881 427	925 784	406 209	374 701	129 847	44 886	510 695	578 670	173 542	955 643	704 554	856 406	180 241	1 741 201	74	90	19	182
One-parent families	166 882	—	114 934	37 375	10 575	3 998	87 999	79 875	26 597	166 882	102 876	108 427	27 539	238 842	62	65	17	143
Unmarried	716	—	626	60	17	13	360	306	96	716	401	368	90	859	56	51	13	120
Married women alone	2 951	—	2 152	618	134	47	854	1 794	694	2 951	998	2 287	711	3 996	34	77	24	135
Widowed	5 298	—	3 583	1 268	350	97	593	3 639	2 060	5 298	689	4 798	2 111	7 598	13	91	40	143
Divorced	4 974	—	3 585	1 073	243	73	837	3 422	1 357	4 974	948	4 425	1 403	6 776	19	89	28	136

Table II-XII-8

Households with married head of household by number of children under 18 years old, and age of the youngest child for the whole country

Number of children under 18 years old	Total households	By number of children under 18 years old					By age of youngest child							
		0	1	2	3	4 +	0 year	1 year	2 years	3 years	4-6 years	7-9 years	10-15 years	16-17 years
Married couples	1 855 806	913 611	398 215	370 732	128 733	44 515	73 990	87 729	84 037	76 975	179 903	127 838	236 200	75 523
Without children	913 611	913 611	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1 child	398 215	.	398 215	.	.	.	28 092	33 842	31 073	23 808	42 766	33 732	132 046	72 856
2 children	370 732	.	.	370 732	.	.	30 397	35 376	34 338	33 691	84 525	62 900	86 875	2 630
3 children	128 733	.	.	.	128 733	.	11 157	13 181	13 331	13 936	38 083	24 018	14 993	34
4 children or more	44 515	.	.	.	.	44 515	4 344	5 330	5 295	5 540	14 529	7 188	2 286	3
Married women working more than 20 hours per week	691 802	325 542	184 061	131 059	39 293	11 847	14 847	24 290	25 049	24 380	62 217	53 873	122 283	39 321
Without children	325 542	325 542	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1 child	184 061	.	184 061	.	.	.	8 234	13 274	12 865	10 439	19 281	14 960	67 093	37 915
2 children	131 059	.	.	131 059	.	.	4 682	7 773	8 371	9 203	26 903	26 302	46 435	1 390
3 children	39 293	.	.	.	39 293	.	1 394	2 342	2 778	3 446	11 823	9 797	7 697	16
4 children or more	11 847	.	.	.	.	11 847	537	901	1 035	1 292	4 210	2 814	1 058	.

Table II-XII-9

Persons in family households to which head of household belongs, by type of household, size of family nucleus of the head, and by number of persons outside that nucleus

Number of persons by type of household		Members			Number of persons outside the nucleus of the head								
		Total	Within nuclei	Outside nuclei	Total	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+
All households		162 176	150 167	12 009	36 860	29 498	4 392	1 879	698	258	92	30	13
	2	17 905	14 978	2 927	7 489	5 841	864	477	180	89	23	9	6
	3	26 234	23 421	2 813	7 807	6 195	899	418	180	62	35	11	7
	4	36 145	33 584	2 561	8 396	6 798	969	404	153	45	17	10	.
	5	33 150	31 330	1 820	6 266	5 073	780	268	93	35	17	.	.
	6	23 507	22 434	1 073	3 739	3 036	448	167	61	27	.	.	.
	7	13 025	12 509	516	1 787	1 422	245	89	31	.	.	.	.
	8	6 230	6 008	222	751	585	110	56	.	.	.	.	.
	9	3 200	3 123	77	347	270	77	.	.	.	.	.	.
	10	2 780	2 780	.	278	278	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
A. One-family nucleus familial													
Couple without children	2	10 770	10 026	744	5 013	4 377	546	76	11	2	1	—	—
Couple with children		125 917	121 658	4 259	26 079	22 362	3 276	359	67	12	2	1	—
	3	20 167	19 137	1 030	6 379	5 498	769	83	23	5	—	1	—
	4	31 154	29 992	1 162	7 498	6 470	913	100	12	2	1	—	.
	5	29 847	28 855	992	5 771	4 910	758	81	17	4	1	.	.
	6	21 378	20 814	564	3 469	2 978	433	44	13	1	.	.	.
	7	12 013	11 711	302	1 673	1 402	242	27	2	.	.	.	.
	8	5 853	5 696	157	712	579	109	24	.	.	.	.	.
	9	2 905	2 853	52	317	265	52	.	.	.	.	.	.
	10	2 600	2 600	.	260	260	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Father with children		2 888	2 608	280	993	779	168	32	10	2	2	—	—
	2	1 383	1 208	175	604	469	107	19	7	1	1	—	—
	3	814	738	76	246	190	43	9	2	1	1	—	—
	4	365	348	17	87	74	10	2	1	—	—	—	.
	5	185	175	10	35	27	6	2	—	—	—	.	.
	6	79	78	1	13	12	1	—	—	—	.	.	.
	7	36	35	1	5	4	1	—	—	.	.	.	.
	8	16	16	—	2	2	—	—	.	.	.	.	.
	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	.	.	.	.	.	.
	10	10	10	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Mother with children		7 420	6 920	500	2 400	1 965	380	46	8	1	—	—	—
	2	2 767	2 480	287	1 240	995	211	27	6	1	—	—	—
	3	1 914	1 809	105	603	507	87	9	—	—	—	—	—
	4	1 295	1 232	63	308	254	46	7	1	—	—	—	.
	5	798	775	23	155	136	16	2	1	—	—	.	.
	6	382	366	16	61	46	14	1	—	—	.	.	.
	7	128	126	2	18	16	2	—	—	.	.	.	.
	8	41	40	1	5	4	1	—	.	.	.	.	.
	9	75	72	3	8	5	3	.	.	.	.	.	.
	10	20	20	.	2	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
B. More than one-family nucleus :													
Two couples with or without another family nucleus		6 073	3 516	2 557	869	8	8	356	283	130	50	22	12
	2	915	348	567	174	.	.	51	62	44	6	6	5
	3	1 275	609	666	203	.	.	68	67	33	20	8	7
	4	1 397	812	585	203	.	.	90	72	24	9	8	.
	5	990	625	365	125	.	.	55	40	15	15	.	.
	6	732	510	222	85	.	.	47	24	14	.	.	.
	7	414	308	106	44	.	.	26	18	.	.	.	.
	8	190	152	38	19	.	.	19	.	.	.	.	.
	9	80	72	8	8	.	8	.	.	.	.	.	.
	10	80	80	.	8	8	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
One couple and one or more other family nuclei		7 564	4 635	2 929	1 208	7	14	800	267	91	24	5	—
	2	1 278	562	716	281	.	.	175	69	28	7	2	—
	3	1 694	927	767	309	.	.	205	72	20	11	1	—
	4	1 722	1 072	650	268	.	.	186	59	16	5	2	.
	5	1 230	830	400	166	.	.	115	35	15	1	.	.
	6	886	630	256	105	.	.	71	22	12	.	.	.
	7	424	322	102	46	.	.	36	10	.	.	.	.
	8	120	96	24	12	.	.	12	.	.	.	.	.
	9	140	126	14	14	.	14	.	.	.	.	.	.
	10	70	70	.	7	7	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
No couple but two or more family nuclei		920	464	456	178	.	.	124	27	12	12	2	1
	2	504	222	282	111	.	.	80	15	6	8	1	1
	3	222	120	102	40	.	.	27	8	2	2	1	—
	4	124	72	52	18	.	.	9	4	3	2	—	.
	5	44	30	14	6	.	.	5	—	1	—	.	.
	6	16	12	4	2	.	.	2	—	—	.	.	.
	7	—	—	—	—	.	.	—	—	.	.	.	.
	8	10	8	2	1	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.
Woman head of household		624	340	284	120	.	.	86	25	8	1	—	—
	2	288	132	156	66	.	.	49	10	7	—	—	—
	3	148	81	67	27	.	.	17	8	1	1	—	—
	4	88	56	32	14	.	.	10	4	—	—	—	.
	5	56	40	16	8	.	.	8	—	—	—	.	.
	6	34	24	10	4	.	.	2	2	—	.	.	.
	7	10	7	3	1	.	.	—	1	.	.	.	.

Within the one-family households, the three family nuclei are separately identified (couple with or without child, parent alone with children) and then combined with an unusual differentiation between :

— nucleus alone ;
— presence of children over 18 years old ;
— presence of other relatives ;
— presence of these two types of person ;
— other types.

Thus, children are differentiated in the household according to whether they are over or under 18 years old. This bringing together of the classification of households and the composition of families is very apt, because the economic weight or influence of a young child and that of an older child are very different.

The figures in Table II-IV-6 show that the nuclear family is absolutely predominant in households, even more so than in Finland. Multi-family households account for less than 1.5 per cent of individuals. It is therefore understandable that the typology of households should be somewhat neglected in favour of other topics. Children, for example, are dealt with in several tables, although never — or almost never — as a category on its own. So what we get is the number of children in families where the husbands and wives are classified by age, economic activity or industrial sector. As the focus is not on children, the classifications are quite rudimentary : all that is done is to enumerate the families with children in this or that age group. Thus, Table II-XII-7 shows the number of children of given ages or in broad age groups in the various types of family as differentiated by marital status.

Table II-XII-8 adopts another approach whereby families consisting of couples are classified according to the number of children and also the age of the youngest child.

Although some elements of these tables concern the child, the situation of the children cannot be fully ascertained because the tables have other aims.

3. ICELAND

The 1960 census supplies certain data on households but does not deal with the family in terms of young children. One-person households are excluded, so we have the following distribution by size : number of households = 38 564, representing 166 570 persons.

Size of household (number of persons)								
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 +
6 922	7 465	8 305	6 689	4 509	2 387	1 185	597	505

The mean household size is large (4.32), but if the 5 805 one-person households are reintroduced, the mean falls to 3.89, which is closer to that found in the European countries with the highest fertility rates.

The type classification of households identifies the traditional family nuclei and places them in order with the household head at the centre, but the classification is still rudimentary :

Head of household in a family nucleus	Household with a single nucleus	Without children	5 013
		With children	26 079
		One parent + children	M 993 W 2 400
	Household with two or more nuclei	2 couples and others	869
		1 couple and other	1 208
		0 couple	298

Head of household not in a family nucleus	236
Other types	1 457
Individuals	5 805

This is an astute approach, since by setting apart the heads of household who have neither spouse nor child, one generally isolates the oldest generation, that of widowers and widows, the head of household living with married children, and sometimes grandchildren. One accordingly sets aside all the households most difficult to describe, which in any case do not represent many people, as the following figures show. Here again, the small-sized households with simple structures contain the vast majority of persons.

Head of household within a family nucleus	Number of persons	Number of households	Size of household				
			2	3	4	5	6 +
One-nucleus households	146 995	34 485	5 841	7 059	7 819	6 167	7 599
Households with two or more nuclei	15 181	2 375	355	473	535	399	613
Other cases[1]	10 188	7 498	5 794	1 081	406	131	86

[1] Including individuals.

These figures give only rather general information on the situation of children in their families and households. The final Table II-XII-9 is much more precise and quite original. It shows the numerical balance between family nuclei and household members not in these nuclei. Thus, one of the major linkages is described, an achievement which is enhanced by the fact that the table covers all types of household.

There are several ways of reading and summarising Table II-XII-9 (which is why it has been reproduced). First, one may check whether the number of persons other than children varies according to the number of children of the household head. This is not the case when one looks at the one-nucleus households and identifies the proportion of those with other persons. One sees that it remains very stable, though increasing very slightly in the large-sized families.

On the other hand, this proportion varies according to the type of family nucleus. 87 per cent of couples without children are alone (without taking account of multi-family households), as are 86 per cent of couples with children, 82 per cent of mothers with children and 78 per cent of fathers with children.

Secondly, one can examine the distribution of these additional persons according to the size of the family nucleus. For example, their average number is seen to diminish as the number of children increases (in the case of one-family households). In three cases out of four, a lone additional person is attached to a one-nucleus family and the second nuclei of multi-family households are small (aside from the case of two complete couples, the second nucleus almost always consists of two persons, i.e. 76 per cent of cases).

Lastly, several calculations can be made concerning the actual situation of children in their families and households. Unfortunately, we run up against the ever-present obstacle of the definition of these children and the uncertainty of their age, which limits the use of these data.

This Icelandic census provides no data on the structure of families by age of the children, so we are confined to these few tables which, though limited, throw yet another different light on the family.

Chapter XIII

HOUSEHOLDS IN AUSTRIA

In the 1961 census Austria published hardly any data on families and households, but made up for this with two individual sections in 1971 : *Familien* (309/16) and *Haushalte* (309/17). Although Austria's definitions of family and household are fairly conventional, as is household composition, there are still some peculiarities due to the fact that economic concepts are competing with a familial view of the population.

1. DEFINITION OF THE HOUSEHOLD IN THE 1971 CENSUS

As indicated earlier, Austria uses the definition of the housekeeping unit but comes close to contradicting that definition by elaborating it thus : « ... although parents co-residing with their children's family, in the same way as renters and their lodgers, have a common economic life, the final judgment in this matter is left to those concerned... ». This shows that the concept of « common economic life » is based essentially on shared housing. Another exception is that minors are always included in the family with which they live. The head of household is the person designated as such on the household schedule, but if he has no economic activity or pension, he is replaced by the next person with an income in the following order : wife, parents, children or other relative. Thus, the economic character of the household is established. However, the census takes the opposite approach since people are in fact enumerated where their families live and not where they themselves live most of the time for their work.

In fact, the definition of the *Wohnbevölkerung* is very similar to that of a population *am Familienwohnsitz*, since the maximum number of persons in institutions have to be reassigned to families for purposes of enumeration. The following rules apply when more than one residence is given :

- a non-daily commuter is counted at the residence of his wife or children if such persons exist ;
- pupils and students under 21 years old are counted in their families ;
- hospitalised persons who intend to return home are likewise counted in their families ;
- even more surprising, foreign workers are treated as commuters, with the result that those whose wives and children have remained in the home country are not counted in the *Wohnbevölkerung*.

In these four examples, the rules take the opposite course to those applied in Germany so as to establish the economic function of households more precisely.

The first type classification of households differentiates between private and institutional households (the latter are defined quite narrowly according to three concurrent criteria : shared meals and housing, common aim, and common external authority). Private households are then broken down into family households (containing at least one family, which will be seen to be the conventional family nucleus) and non-family households.

The more detailed classification of households is based on the number of family nuclei and comprises fourteen types in all :

A. *Family households*

- with a single family nucleus
  1. alone,
  2. with other persons,
  3. with parents or in-laws.
- with two family nuclei

1. 2.	related in direct line	alone with other persons
3. 4.	indirectly related	alone with other persons
5. 6.	unrelated	alone with other persons

- with three or more nuclei.

B. *Non-family households*

- of one person
- of two or more persons
  1. related,
  2. related and unrelated,
  3. unrelated only.

This classification is clever in that it does not include any specific elements of the family nucleus and therefore can be profitably combined with

Table II-XIII-1

Private households by type and size

Type of household	Total		Households with ...members								
	Households	Persons	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 or more	
										Households	persons
Total private households	2 535 916	7 360 371	623 041	671 850	454 150	360 472	201 589	109 208	56 712	58 894	529 115
Family households	1 833 005	6 556 852	—	604 665	445 247	358 348	200 773	108 887	56 564	58 521	525 254
With one family nucleus	1 739 816	5 968 241	—	604 665	445 247	344 016	180 491	86 675	40 553	38 169	340 730
Without other persons	1 503 078	4 822 318	—	604 665	381 718	291 095	129 514	53 923	22 542	19 621	174 552
With other persons	236 738	1 145 923	—	—	63 529	52 921	50 977	32 752	18 011	18 548	166 178
Of which: parents and parents-in-law of family head	132 070	661 826	—	—	26 846	29 677	32 737	20 994	11 122	10 694	95 077
With two family nuclei	90 473	564 392	—	—	—	14 332	20 282	21 944	15 543	16 372	165 189
In direct line	83 626	520 769	—	—	—	13 092	18 745	20 581	14 532	16 676	149 466
Without other persons	69 858	418 306	—	—	—	13 092	17 050	17 628	11 175	10 913	96 695
With other persons	13 768	102 463	—	—	—	—	1 695	2 953	3 357	5 763	52 771
Family nuclei related in another way	6 094	39 311	—	—	—	1 015	1 337	1 225	930	1 587	14 706
Without other persons	3 664	21 008	—	—	—	1 015	905	757	468	519	4 605
With other persons	2 430	18 303	—	—	—	—	432	468	462	1 068	10 101
Unrelated family nuclei	753	4 312	—	—	—	225	200	138	81	109	1 017
Without other persons	484	2 453	—	—	—	225	129	69	26	35	312
With other persons	269	1 859	—	—	—	—	71	69	55	74	705
More than two family nuclei	2 716	24 219	—	—	—	—	—	268	468	1 980	19 335
Non-family households	702 911	803 519	623 041	67 185	8 903	2 124	816	321	148	373	3 861
One-person households	623 041	623 041	623 041	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Multi-person households	79 870	180 478	—	67 185	8 903	2 124	816	321	148	373	3 861
Composed solely of related persons	40 301	85 120	—	36 565	3 160	431	103	27	11	4	32
Composed solely of related and other persons	2 332	8 072	—	—	1 677	422	153	38	17	25	241
Composed solely of unrelated persons	37 237	87 286	—	30 620	4 066	1 271	560	256	120	344	3 588

family types, unlike so many other classifications that are already halfway between household and family.

There are also some traces of the « multi-generation household » in that progenitors are stressed in two instances, but this does not prevent the classification from primarily presenting a view of the relationships between the families comprising the household and not between some or all of the individuals.

In Table II-XIII-1 the households classified in this way are broken down by number of persons per household : 83 per cent of the population of family households is in single-nucleus households and only 9 per cent in multi-nucleus households. The breakdown of the latter also shows a considerable tapering since the first category is ten times larger than the second, which is itself ten times larger than the last category.

Comparable tables are available for each province. They naturally show considerable variety, as can be seen in the following summary :

	Distribution of persons in :		
	One-nucleus households	Multi-nucleus households	Non-family households
Burgenland	78.5	15.8	5.7
Carinthia	81.8	10.7	7.5
Lower Austria	82.4	8.4	9.2
Upper Austria	83.5	8.2	8.3
Salzburg	82.3	8.4	9.3
Styria	79.1	12.4	8.5
Tirol	88.1	10.1	8.8
Vorarlberg	87.0	4.5	8.5
Vienna	78.2	2.1	19.7

The danger inherent in national descriptions is now even more apparent : the multi-family households that still exist in some rural provinces have vanished from the large towns and industrial areas. People do not decide not to live together for mysterious reasons only : the fact is that they also consider their own interests. In the country a house is larger and easier to extend, and work is still tied up with family life. In towns this is not at all the case. Here we have one of the main sources of difficulty with this kind of statistics. It is wellnigh impossible to single out an economic (household) or social (family) aspect, since family patterns of behaviour are global and embody a whole set of habits. We may infer that households in large towns assume more limited functions and are more dependent on the State for many elements of their existence.

In this respect, the Austrian census is quite satisfactory. Although it has been criticised somewhat for separating familial and economic aspects in the definitions and in collection of the data, it does recombine them in the results.

2. THE HOUSEHOLD, THE CHILD AND THE FAMILY

Table II-XIII-2 thus combines economic data (number of gainfully employed persons in the household) and social parameters, namely the number of dependent persons — and among these the number of children under 15 and then under 6 years old. But these data are tricky to interpret since household structure intervenes unseen between the distributions : if family nuclei on their own generally consist of young couples, the number of gainfully employed persons in them is necessarily smaller. However, few tables are without these potential biases.

The scale of effects of this kind can be gauged from Table II-XIII-3, which shows the relationship of household members to the head. Unfortunately there is no detailed breakdown for children ; there is just one category consisting of the under fifteen-year olds, for whom the percentage breakdown is as follows :

Institutions	0.3
Not related to the head of household	1.6
Related but not children of head	6.9
Children of head	91.2
Total	100

For a more complete picture it is necessary to examine families. These are in fact defined as the four types of family nuclei[1] within which unmarried mothers are identified (as already seen in an earlier chapter, the illegitimate birth rate has been one of the highest in Europe for a very long time).

Table II-XIII-4 shows how these families are organised into households. In contrast with the situation in other countries, fathers only and their children are rarely in multi-family households. The opposite is true of unmarried mothers, the proportion of whom increases as the structure of the household becomes more complex :

1.3 per cent in one-family households ;
4.7 per cent in two-family households ;
6.7 per cent in households with more than two families.

3. DETAILED STATISTICS ON CHILDHOOD

From this point on, a number of tables enable us to have a more precise idea of the situation of children. First of all, Table II-XIII-5 gives a

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[1] Though with a minor exception to the conventional rules in that the children may be grandchildren provided their parents are absent from the household.

Table II-XIII-2

Private households by number of economically active members and dependants

Number of economically active persons	Total	Without dependants	Private households with dependants						
			Total		1	2	3	4 or more	
			Households	Persons				Households	Persons
Total	2 535 916	1 153 150	1 382 766	2 985 838	590 502	332 625	253 823	205 816	968 617
1	1 308 382	625 779	682 603	1 529 817	276 511	144 076	151 257	110 759	511 383
2	839 411	396 568	442 843	862 012	216 567	118 796	58 571	48 909	232 140
3	256 306	94 054	162 252	362 435	64 643	43 840	27 081	26 688	128 869
4	91 422	26 759	64 663	153 902	22 862	17 995	11 359	12 447	60 973
5 or more	40 395	9 990	30 405	77 672	9 919	7 918	5 555	7 013	35 252

Number of economically active persons	Private households with... members under 15 years old							Private households with... members under 6 years old						
	Total		1	2	3	4 or more		Total		1	2	3	4 or more	
	Households	Persons				Households	Persons	Households	Persons				Households	Persons
Total	934 459	1 815 825	416 496	299 761	131 081	87 121	406 564	508 718	715 978	341 553	133 214	28 590	5 361	22 227
1	404 028	813 374	155 923	146 906	63 771	37 428	172 326	245 547	357 679	153 989	73 793	15 275	2 490	10 279
2	326 272	580 529	170 814	95 400	36 712	23 346	108 779	163 917	215 794	121 152	35 044	6 513	1 208	5 015
3	123 612	247 030	56 896	34 806	17 511	14 399	67 989	57 972	81 465	39 864	13 685	3 593	830	3 452
4	53 991	114 819	22 574	15 304	8 610	7 503	35 807	27 539	40 418	17 831	7 110	2 097	501	2 076
5 or more	26 556	60 073	10 289	7 345	4 477	4 445	21 663	13 743	20 622	8 717	3 582	1 112	332	1 405

Table II-XIII-3

Resident population by relationship to the head or household, age, sex and type of household

Age group	Total	In private households	One-person households	Private households of 2 or more persons										Institutions		
				Total	Head of households	Husband/wife	Persons living in consensual union	Progenitors	Children (natural, adopted)	Other relatives	Economically active persons in the household	Domestic servants	Other unrelated persons	Total	Staff	Boarders
Total	7 456 403	7 360 371	623 041	6 737 330	1 912 875	1 570 598	50 208	210 192	2 572 422	245 936	22 423	11 299	141 377	96 032	15 759	80 273
Under 15	1 822 332	1 817 037	—	1 817 037	—	—	2	—	1 662 629	125 537	—	—	28 869	5 295	—	5 295
15 - 20	511 456	503 375	10 749	492 626	4 294	11 315	1 474	1	429 241	19 599	7 822	3 375	15 505	8 081	2 624	5 457
20 - 25	528 888	516 929	32 786	484 143	67 284	112 339	5 375	1	252 524	17 423	4 885	1 989	22 323	11 959	2 772	9 187
25 - 30	486 315	480 926	28 199	452 727	154 572	167 211	4 858	1	100 157	10 528	1 939	742	12 719	5 389	1 400	3 989
30 - 35	503 199	499 018	22 083	476 935	204 753	193 753	4 646	7	56 035	6 923	1 522	724	8 572	4 181	1 405	2 776
35 - 40	406 906	403 706	15 718	387 988	185 200	161 810	3 859	146	24 730	4 975	1 226	655	5 387	3 200	1 087	2 113
40 - 45	455 073	451 852	20 049	431 803	216 084	180 148	4 206	868	18 374	5 269	1 175	788	4 891	3 221	1 022	2 199
45 - 50	480 909	477 444	29 874	447 570	211 561	200 040	5 018	2 641	14 572	6 437	1 348	1 030	4 923	3 465	1 142	2 323
50 - 55	339 397	336 511	29 946	306 565	152 138	128 606	4 174	4 861	6 598	4 658	948	756	3 826	2 886	870	2 016
55 - 60	413 520	408 925	53 934	354 991	184 199	132 178	4 962	14 594	4 124	7 205	1 077	831	5 821	4 595	1 147	3 448
60 - 65	446 838	441 445	78 725	362 720	189 436	121 405	4 495	27 943	2 176	9 249	386	266	7 364	5 393	912	4 481
65 - 70	402 232	395 828	92 737	303 091	155 238	85 682	3 381	41 080	819	9 574	64	90	7 163	6 404	641	5 763
70 - 75	305 467	297 922	89 223	208 699	100 542	48 243	2 176	43 774	228	7 969	21	36	5 710	7 545	426	7 119
75 and over	353 871	329 453	119 018	210 435	87 574	27 868	1 582	74 275	215	10 590	10	17	8 304	24 418	311	24 107

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Table II-XIII-4

Families by type of household and type of family

Type of household	Total	Couple without children	Couple with children	One-parent families	One-parent families: Fathers	One-parent families: Mothers	One-parent families: Unmarried mothers
Total families	1 929 664	617 449	1 087 756	224 459	24 033	200 426	41 689
In private households	1 929 028	616 886	1 087 730	224 412	24 023	200 389	41 663
With one family nucleus	1 739 816	551 199	1 006 252	182 365	19 364	163 001	22 906
Without other persons	1 503 078	500 764	854 080	148 234	15 160	133 074	14 742
With other persons	236 738	50 435	152 172	34 131	4 204	29 927	8 164
of which : parents and parents-in-law of the head of family	132 070	19 619	96 747	15 704	1 778	13 926	5 113
With two family nuclei	180 946	63 186	78 537	39 223	4 426	34 797	16 974
In direct line	167 252	59 522	73 931	33 799	3 844	29 955	13 995
Without other persons	139 716	50 506	60 739	28 471	3 205	25 266	11 748
With other persons	27 536	9 016	13 192	5 328	639	4 689	2 247
Family nuclei related in another way	12 188	3 333	4 411	4 444	388	4 056	2 626
Without other persons	7 328	2 146	2 576	2 606	229	2 377	1 460
With other persons	4 860	1 187	1 835	1 838	159	1 679	1 166
Unrelated family nuclei	1 506	331	195	980	194	786	353
Without other persons	968	176	133	659	124	535	228
With other persons	538	155	62	321	70	251	125
Three or more family nuclei	8 266	2 501	2 941	2 824	233	2 591	1 783
In institutions	636	563	26	47	10	37	26

breakdown of families by the number of children under 15 years old and the presence or absence of one of the two parents. It shows the very sharp distinction between large families, in which 96 per cent of the children have both parents, and one-child families, only 84 per cent of which have both. These figures probably reflect a rather different kind of family cycle from the ones seen so far ; 20 per cent of children are illegitimate at birth, but afterwards the mother marries and they are legitimised. This occurs more frequently than the mother remaining unmarried and having no further children, for, above the age of 30, less than 10 per cent of women are still unmarried.

A finer breakdown by age and number of children is given in Table II-XIII-6, where the number of children is combined with the specific type of family nucleus and several different age criteria : dependent children under 27, 15 and 6 years' old, and age of the youngest child in the categories 0-2 years, 3-5 years, 6-14 years and 15 or over. This breakdown incorporates further differentiations as to whether the mother works or not, and is married or unmarried. The figures confirm that the proportion of unmarried mothers decreases very rapidly in the 25 to 35 age group : 3.7 per cent at 20-24 years, 2.3 per cent at 25-29 years and 1.7 per cent at 30-34 years, despite a relatively steady illegitimacy ratio since World War Two.

Table II-XIII-6 offers a point of view similar to that found in Belgium and Norway, but the breakdown of the families is less detailed. Here, the concept of the « dependent » or « supported » person (*erhaltene Personen*) is found for the first time. The concept itself is a very old one, since it provided

Table II-XIII-5

Families by number of children under 15 years old

	Number of children	Families with: No children	Families with: 1 child	Families with: 2 children	Families with: 3 children	Families with: 4 children or more: families	Families with: 4 children or more: children
Total	1 795 899	989 997	431 246	297 650	127 762	83 009	386 067
Couples	1 653 744	864 303	361 399	277 955	121 799	79 749	371 038
One-parent families	142 155	125 694	69 847	19 695	5 963	3 260	15 029

Table II-XIII-6

Distribution of families and children by age and type of family nucleus

	Number of children		Couples	Father alone	Mother economically active	Mother head of household
All children	Total		1 705 205	24 033	643 418	200 426
	0		617 449		216 381	
	1		431 668	16 972	193 902	142 880
	2		354 841	4 616	129 289	37 578
	3		168 579	1 446	57 541	12 083
	4 or more	Families	132 668	999	46 305	7 885
		Children	641 315	4 781	223 440	37 681
Youngest child under 3 years old	Total		269 009	1 394	94 125	24 782
	1		89 524	861	41 165	17 146
	2		86 685	282	25 460	4 451
	3		46 912	120	13 074	1 662
	4 or more	Families	45 888	131	14 426	1 523
		Children	229 996	653	72 631	7 579
Youngest child 3 to 6 years old	Total		193 618	1 569	74 118	17 542
	1		50 205	867	26 627	9 998
	2		67 525	377	22 722	4 149
	3		39 339	156	12 456	1 766
	4 or more	Families	36 549	169	12 313	1 629
		Children	179 118	868	60 483	8 170
Youngest child 6 to 15 years old	Total		378 275	5 658	161 791	47 820
	1		116 463	2 863	58 273	24 995
	2		143 997	1 559	57 998	13 282
	3		70 755	693	27 248	5 657
	4 or more	Families	47 060	543	18 272	3 886
		Children	218 618	2 589	84 774	18 281
Youngest child aged 15 and over	Total		246 854	15 412	97 003	110 282
	1		175 476	12 381	67 837	90 741
	2		56 634	2 398	23 109	15 696
	3		11 573	477	4 763	2 998
	4 or more	Families	3 171	156	1 294	847
		Children	13 583	671	5 552	3 651
All dependent children under 27 years old	Total		943 449	11 617	374 643	111 604
	1		379 067	7 919	179 025	76 974
	2		314 906	2 415	113 043	22 792
	3		145 238	780	47 778	7 409
	4 or more	Families	104 238	503	34 797	4 429
		Children	493 343	2 359	164 302	20 750
Children under 15 years old	Total		840 902	8 621	330 034	90 144
	1		361 399	5 969	168 303	63 878
	2		277 955	1 809	96 409	17 886
	3		121 799	534	39 138	5 429
	4 or more	Families	79 749	309	26 184	2 951
		Children	371 038	1 429	121 748	13 600
Children under 6 years old	Total		462 627	2 963	168 243	42 324
	1		305 850	2 485	122 141	35 959
	2		125 221	404	36 988	5 491
	3		26 825	63	7 678	778
	4 or more	Families	4 731	11	1 436	96
		Children	19 495	46	5 910	398

the basis for the classifications by economic activity, but it is interesting to find it applied to children. Since it is often difficult to produce a breakdown by age groups and impossible to use the broad concept of children, who may be anywhere between 0 and 80 years old, the « dependent child » criterion is useful and simple.

We shall conclude by illustrating how this criterion is put to use. Table II-XIII-7 shows the number of dependent children by number of children in the working population and by type of household. By setting these results against the structure of households, one can get a fairly comprehensive view of the situation of children in Austria.

Table II-XIII-7

Families according to type and status of the mother and the number of dependent children

Number of active children	Families with... dependent children						
	Total	0	1	2	3	4 or more	
						Families	Children
				All couples			
Total	1 705 205	789 286	381 016	304 950	136 759	93 194	436 946
0	1 373 440	617 449	300 712	264 312	116 942	74 025	342 700
1	240 732	130 956	57 526	27 823	13 036	11 391	55 379
2	69 819	33 003	17 554	9 470	4 741	5 051	24 991
3 or more	21 214	7 878	5 224	3 345	2 040	2 727	13 876
				The wife works			
Total	643 418	282 110	178 053	107 933	44 386	30 936	144 866
0	514 811	216 381	145 013	92 173	37 013	24 231	112 435
1	91 739	48 889	23 551	10 644	4 717	3 938	18 857
2	28 223	13 565	7 264	3 742	1 865	1 787	8 712
3 or more	8 645	3 275	2 225	1 374	791	980	4 862
				The wife stays at home			
Total	918 944	374 578	196 451	194 922	91 471	61 522	288 500
0	732 167	282 373	150 740	170 532	79 260	49 262	227 707
1	135 410	70 256	32 812	16 867	8 157	7 318	35 859
2	39 382	17 720	9 999	5 611	2 835	3 217	16 037
3 or more	11 985	4 229	2 900	1 912	1 219	1 725	8 897
				The wife is unemployed			
Total	142 843	132 598	6 512	2 095	902	736	3 580
0	126 462	118 695	4 959	1 607	669	532	2 558
1	13 583	11 811	1 163	312	162	135	663
2	2 214	1 718	291	117	41	47	242
3 or more	584	374	99	59	30	22	117
				Fathers only			
Total	24 033	12 614	8 044	2 284	661	430	2 004
0	9 124	—	6 533	1 796	497	298	1 370
1	11 982	10 439	1 074	312	97	60	293
2	2 263	1 746	306	124	43	44	211
3 or more	664	429	131	52	24	28	130
				Mothers only			
Total	200 426	93 765	75 335	21 167	6 505	3 654	16 956
0	88 584	—	63 732	17 320	5 010	2 522	11 592
1	91 519	79 148	8 342	2 500	903	626	2 928
2	15 973	11 916	2 443	939	371	304	1 444
3 or more	4 350	2 701	818	408	221	202	992

Chapter XIV

DEFINING THE EXTENDED FAMILY : YUGOSLAVIA

A whole theory of the family has its roots in the Balkans with the prototype of the extended family, the « Zadruga ». Although there are now some doubts as to the continuing existence of such a family, the Yugoslav censuses can reasonably be expected to provide some original data and to describe the family differently. This is indeed the case with the 1970 census, which devotes a large volume to households and families. We shall extract a number of tables from this volume and also compare two provinces that are very dissimilar in character : Vojvodina and Kosovo. As seen earlier, the birth rates in the two provinces have always been at opposite extremes, and this may very well have influenced the structure of households and the environment of early childhood. We cannot, however, discuss all the concepts in detail, being insufficiently familiar with the Serbo-Croat language and the nuances of the vocabulary used in connection with the family.

1. Definition

Yugoslavia adopted the definition of the housekeeping unit from the earliest censuses at the beginning of the century, but it is less precise than that of the United Nations : « ... any family or other community or persons whose members live together and spend their incomes jointly ». There is no mention of meals or « essentials for living ». The aim is primarily to separate a number of households lodging in the same dwelling, so there is no one-to-one equivalence between the number of households and the number of dwellings investigated and defined in physical terms by the same census : « ... the term « dwelling » should be taken to mean a room or number of rooms with or without annexes (kitchen, pantry, hall, bathroom, toilet, etc.) which form a structural whole and have one or more separate entrances[1] ». We were unable to obtain any definition of the family, but the way in which it is conceived will emerge fairly clearly in the accompanying tables.

2. Families and households

Households are first broken down by the number of members and the percentage share of each size of household. The same breakdown is set out alongside for rural regions, urban areas and large towns, and also for Vojvodina and Kosovo.

These distributions are utterly dissimilar and differences of this order make it difficult to establish a homogeneous description of the family (one cannot even be sure that local differences between the two provinces are not wider still). Even in the towns of Kosovo, households are much larger than the rural households in Vojvodina (Table II-XIV-1).

The composition of households is broadly set out in two original tables which give a breakdown of economically inactive persons by number and also by status in terms of the following categories (for the households not the persons — Table II-XIV-2) :

- infants,
- children in primary education,
- children in secondary and higher education,
- mothers of families,
- mothers of families with infants,
- mothers of families with children in primary education,
- mothers of families with infants and children in primary education,
- mothers of families with children in secondary and higher education,
- mothers of families with children in primary, secondary and higher education,
- other cases.

The « other cases » category is naturally the biggest because it includes the elderly, but it can be determined by means of age pyramids and labour force participation statistics ; on the other hand, the figures on mothers of families cannot be obtained with conventional population and fertility statistics since the composition of families is not known.

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[1] Popis Stanovništa Istahova, 1971. Vol. 1, Belgrade, p. 423.

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Table II-XIV-1

Size of households in Yugoslavia and in the Provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo
Percentage breakdown

Size of household	Yugoslavia				Kosovo				Vojvodina			
	T*	V	U	R	T	V	U	R	T	V	U	R
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
1	13.33	17.80	12.79	9.57	6.01	9.61	10.99	3.72	14.42	15.80	13.15	13.25
2	16.43	18.58	16.45	14.54	6.78	8.80	9.82	5.48	22.97	23.65	23.53	22.00
3	18.98	23.53	19.45	14.88	8.16	12.45	10.22	5.79	23.54	25.61	23.59	21.16
4	21.24	23.64	23.41	18.55	11.98	16.67	16.40	9.18	22.20	22.10	22.50	22.21
5	12.87	9.61	13.98	15.43	12.29	14.34	16.99	10.82	9.61	8.34	9.63	11.06
6	7.30	3.77	6.88	11.58	12.67	13.15	11.39	12.55	4.59	2.84	4.59	6.61
7	4.19	1.55	3.41	6.71	10.53	8.97	6.17	11.73	1.67	1.09	1.93	2.25
8	2.27	0.71	1.78	3.77	9.13	6.15	4.43	11.08	0.60	0.33	0.73	0.87
9	1.14	0.34	0.95	1.89	6.05	3.80	4.80	7.31	0.17	0.09	0.25	0.24
10	0.65	0.18	0.46	1.12	3.94	2.20	3.54	4.86	0.06	0.06	0.00	0.08
11	0.34	0.10	0.15	0.61	2.64	1.44	1.05	3.40	0.07	0.02	0.05	0.14
12	0.22	0.05	0.10	0.40	2.43	1.01	1.49	3.23	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.05
13	0.12	0.02	0.02	0.23	1.32	0.34	0.38	1.91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
14	0.09	0.01	0.03	0.18	1.36	0.16	1.48	1.95	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
15	0.06	0.01	0.03	0.12	0.91	0.29	0.74	1.24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
16	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.82	0.15	0.00	1.23	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
17	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.53	0.10	0.00	0.80	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
18	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.52	0.12	0.00	0.77	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
19	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.36	0.06	0.00	0.55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
20 or more	0.06	0.01	0.02	0.12	1.46	0.07	0.00	2.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

*T = total.
V = large towns.
U = other urban districts.
R = rural population.

Anyway, these data are still fairly rough. Much more interesting are the details of the composition of households and the distribution of families in households (Table II-XIV-3). Percentage breakdowns are given for Yugoslavia as a whole and for the two provinces to illustrate the regional differences again. The original Serbo-Croat wording of the categories has been retained in the table so as to enable the reader to spot any inaccuracies in the following translation :

a) one-person households

b) non-family households of two or more persons
— consisting of related persons
— consisting of unrelated persons
— consisting of related and unrelated persons

c) one-family households
— couple only without children
— couple only with children
— father or mother only with children
— father or mother with married son or daughter and their children (grandchildren)
— couple and children with unmarried brothers or sisters of the husband or wife
— couple without children with unmarried brothers or sisters of the husband or wife
— other one-family households

d) households of two or more families
— couple with married son(s) with or without children (grandchildren)
— couple with married daughter(s) with or without children
— couple with married son(s) and daughter(s) without children

Table II-XIV-2

Status of persons in the household who are not gainfully employed
Percentages

Categories of persons not gainfully employed	T*	V	U	R
Total	22.44	26.45	18.72	19.92
Infants	6.18	8.02	5.77	4.68
Children in primary education	6.05	6.57	5.34	5.79
Children in secondary and higher education	3.41	5.36	2.64	1.91
Mothers of families	13.21	11.75	14.43	14.17
Mothers of families with infants	8.53	7.41	10.61	8.94
Mothers of families with children in primary education	7.32	6.31	9.06	7.74
Mothers of families with infants and children in primary education	6.32	4.12	7.83	7.85
Mothers of families with children in secondary and higher education	3.92	5.46	3.89	2.59
Mothers of families with children in primary, secondary and higher education	2.84	3.25	3.61	2.27
Other cases	19.72	15.25	18.04	24.07

* T = total.
V = larges towns.
U = other urban districts.
R = rural population.

Table II-XIV-3

Distribution of families in households by number and composition

Type of household	Yugoslavia				Kosovo				Vojvodina			
	T*	V	U	R	T	V	U	R	T	V	U	R
Households without a family	14.98	19.80	14.44	10.91	7.34	10.98	12.94	4.97	15.73	17.38	14.35	14.30
One-family households	72.60	75.31	77.67	68.88	65.16	76.22	73.11	58.82	76.85	77.70	78.91	75.19
Two-family households	10.91	4.55	7.14	17.47	18.45	10.29	9.14	23.45	7.04	4.75	6.49	9.87
Three-family households	1.27	0.27	0.68	2.31	6.15	2.25	4.04	8.32	0.33	0.15	0.23	0.57
Four-family households	0.18	0.04	0.04	0.34	2.23	0.19	0.74	3.40	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.05
Five-family households	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.04	0.45	0.03	0.00	0.70	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Six-family households	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Seven-family households	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Eight-family households	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS												
One-person households	13.33	17.80	12.79	9.57	6.01	9.61	10.99	3.72	14.42	15.80	13.15	13.25
Non-family households of two or more persons	1.64	1.99	1.64	1.33	1.33	1.37	1.94	1.25	1.31	1.58	1.19	1.04
consisting of related persons	1.04	1.28	0.94	0.86	0.39	0.62	0.00	0.30	0.89	1.13	0.66	0.69
consisting of unrelated persons	0.47	0.58	0.59	0.33	0.44	0.37	0.73	0.45	0.32	0.36	0.48	0.22
consisting of related and unrelated persons	0.12	0.12	0.10	0.13	0.49	0.36	1.21	0.49	0.09	0.08	0.04	0.12
One-family households	72.60	75.31	77.67	68.87	65.12	76.22	73.11	58.75	76.85	77.70	78.91	75.19
couple only without children	11.47	12.37	11.36	10.71	4.74	5.65	7.95	3.98	17.50	17.35	18.67	17.28
couple only with children	42.05	46.76	48.14	36.30	43.57	52.23	50.77	38.50	42.28	44.45	44.26	39.12
father or mother only with children	6.77	7.43	7.35	6.03	5.31	6.65	6.29	4.54	6.67	7.25	6.42	6.09
father or mother with a married son or daughter and their children (grandchildren)	7.42	4.56	6.18	10.26	5.48	4.55	4.06	6.08	6.34	4.94	5.07	8.37
couple and children with unmarried brothers or sisters of the husband or wife	0.65	0.67	0.65	0.64	0.50	0.48	0.00	0.56	0.44	0.57	0.34	0.32
couple without children with unmarried brothers or sisters of the husband or wife	0.15	0.15	0.21	0.13	0.02	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.19	0.09	0.18
other one-family households	4.06	3.34	3.75	4.77	5.47	6.55	3.99	5.06	3.42	2.91	4.03	3.80
Households of two or more families	12.41	4.88	7.87	20.20	27.52	12.78	13.93	36.26	7.40	4.90	6.73	10.49
couple with married son(s) with or without children (grandchildren)	4.32	1.47	2.50	7.29	5.29	2.41	3.26	6.93	3.14	1.84	2.14	4.98
couple with married daughter(s) with or without children (grandchildren)	0.90	0.55	0.77	1.24	0.43	0.20	0.74	0.52	0.80	0.75	0.85	0.84
couple with married son(s) and daughter(s) with or without children	0.18	0.07	0.14	0.28	0.69	0.16	0.38	0.99	0.11	0.01	0.21	0.19
couple with married and unmarried children with or without children	2.74	1.32	2.09	4.16	8.43	5.53	3.93	10.32	1.42	1.14	1.92	1.57
mother or father with married daughters or sons or both, with or without children	0.38	0.14	0.16	0.65	2.18	0.67	0.38	3.12	0.12	0.08	0.02	0.20
mother or father with unmarried daughter or son and married daughter or son, with or without children	1.21	0.58	0.92	1.84	2.48	1.56	0.70	3.11	0.67	0.48	0.74	0.85
Other multi-family households	2.66	0.73	1.27	4.71	7.98	2.24	4.49	11.22	1.11	0.57	0.82	1.83

* T = total.
V = large towns.
U = other urban districts.
R = rural population.

- couple with married and unmarried children with or without their children
- mother or father with married daughter or son, or both, with or without children
- mother or father with unmarried son or daughter and married son or daughter with or without children
- other multi-family households.

The list of categories in this classification shows clearly enough how tightly it is constructed. Here the family is the basis of the household and no account is taken of unrelated persons other than in the case of non-family households. The term « family » is then clearly assigned to family nuclei consisting of three categories :

- couple without children
- couple with children
- father or mother with children.

Other relatives are then attached to this nucleus : the father or mother of one of the spouses, then the brothers and sisters of the husband or wife.

Aside from this introduction of sibship, which is usually disregarded, the categories of family nuclei are conventional and even condensed, since all the combinations of three generations living together are consolidated.

The classification of multi-family nuclei is much richer since it introduces an ethnological dimension in which the structure of powerful stem families can be seen. At first glance it would seem unnecessary to differentiate between couples housing their married sons and those living with their married daughters, but the figures show that the first case covers 4.32 per cent of households and the second 0.90 per cent. Because it is multi-family households that are involved, the percentages for persons as opposed to households would naturally be higher : the point of interest is that the pattern of incidence of the two cases is completely out of balance. Sons remain in their parents' home, but daughters leave (no doubt to set up in their husband's family true to the dictates of patrilineal logic). So the basic principle of the multi-family household is quite simply one of relationship to the parent couple : married or unmarried son or daughter.

The importance of the stem family is seen even more clearly when the percentages are compared by area (urban and rural population) and by republic. Multi-family households account for 20 per cent of households in the country but only 5 per cent in large towns ; they account for 24 per cent of households in rural Macedonia but only 10 per cent in rural Slovenia.

The most marked contrast is found within Serbia :

Proportion of multi-family households in Serbia

	Average	Large towns	Rural areas
Vojvodina	7.40	4.90	10.50
Kosovo	27.50	12.80	36.30

In Kosovo, the second type of household in order of importance is the multi-family household where unmarried sons and daughters and married sons or daughters are living with their parents. Given the past trend of mortality, it is even conceivable that the maximum possible proportion of stem family households has been reached in this region.

Thus, in these few figures one can see a type of family organisation fairly different from those encountered in the other countries, where multi-family households were rare and only sketchily described.

Following this analysis of households, the Yugoslav census explores family nuclei in a large number of tables covering : couples without children and with children, fathers only with children and mothers only with children. This set of data lies

Table II-XIV-4*a*

Family nuclei without children by number of nuclei and type of household

Percentages

	Family nuclei without children		
	Yugoslavia	Kosovo	Vojvodina
Number of families per household			
1	58.13	28.60	75.56
2	34.64	39.48	22.47
3	6.21	19.50	1.88
4	0.85	8.94	0.08
5	0.10	2.51	0.00
6	0.01	0.19	0.00
7	0.00	0.00	0.00
8	0.02	0.73	0.00
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS			
One-family households	58.13	28.60	75.56
Couple only without children	50.24	23.22	67.00
Father or mother with married son or daughter and their children (grandchildren)	3.77	1.99	4.13
Couple without children with unmarried brothers or sisters of the husband or wife	0.68	0.10	0.67
Other one-family households	3.42	3.28	3.73
Households with two or more families	41.86	71.39	24.43
Couple with married son with or without children (grandchildren)	20.96	24.63	14.05
Couple with married daughter with or without children (grandchildren)	4.20	1.47	3.49
Couple with married sons and daughters with or without children	0.82	2.32	0.47
Couple with married and unmarried children with or without children	4.10	15.07	2.10
Mother or father with married daughter, or son, or both, with or without children	0.85	4.69	0.24
Mother or father with unmarried son or daughter and married son or daughter with or without children	1.20	3.81	0.39
Other multi-family households	9.70	19.36	3.66

Table II-XIV-4*b*

Couples with children
Percentages

	Couples with children		
	Yugoslavia	Kosovo	Vojvodina
Number of families per household			
1	78.48	53.69	87.52
2	17.48	24.65	11.65
3	3.14	12.69	0.74
4	0.71	6.25	0.07
5	0.10	1.55	0.00
6	0.01	0.30	0.00
7	0.00	0.15	0.00
8	0.03	0.67	0.00
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS			
One-family households	78.48	53.67	87.52
Couple only with children	64.45	44.17	75.10
Father or mother with married son or daughter and their children (grandchildren)	9.36	4.96	8.37
Couple and children with unmarried brothers or sisters of the husband or wife	1.00	0.51	0.78
Other one-family households	3.66	4.01	3.25
Households with two or more families	21.51	46.32	12.47
Couple with married son with or without children (grandchildren)	6.30	7.29	4.64
Couple with married daughter with or without children (grandchildren)	0.95	0.32	0.79
Couple with married son and daughter with or without children	0.33	1.37	0.23
Couple with married and unmarried children with or without children	7.02	16.10	3.65
Mother or father with married daughter or son, or both, with or without children	0.81	3.79	0.21
Mother or father with unmarried son or daughter and married son or daughter, with or without children	1.56	2.75	0.99
Other multi-family households	4.50	14.66	1.92

halfway between the standpoint of children and that of households, and a number of interesting tables on aspects of childhood can be derived from it.

3. THE ANALYSIS OF FAMILY NUCLEI

The four types of family nuclei are first combined with their household of origin according to the number of family nuclei in this household and the type of household (Tables II-XIV-4). If one compares these tables with the table on households by type one finds that, according to some unanswerable logic, the proportion of family nuclei living in multifamily households has increased. In the Kosovo region it now even preponderates.

It will be recalled that this table could be constructed from the table on households if the composition of all multi-family households were known : but this is out of the question. The incidence of nuclei in a multi-family household increases as we move from a couple with children (21.5 per cent) to a mother with children (26 per cent) and a father with children (30 per cent), but it is by far the highest for couples without children (42 per cent). The explanation of this curious finding is not a matter of young couples staying in their family of origin but, on the contrary, of old couples. The high percentage is due to the statistical breakdown, since the old couples in multifamily households are often the parents of a married son or daughter living with them.

This is confirmed by the age distribution :

Age distribution					
head of household			father or mother only		
Age	Couple without children		Couple with children	Mother with children	Father with children
	Total	Rural Kosovo			
— 20	1.3	4.2	0.4	1.2	0.7
20-24	8.4	18.7	4.3	5.3	3.2
25-29	6.0	14.3	10.6	6.4	5.6
30-34	4.4	7.7	16.5	8.6	8.2
35-39	4.1	2.9	18.9	10.7	10.1
40-44	5.2	3.8	17.4	13.4	12.0
45-49	7.0	2.4	11.7	12.4	10.0
50-54	6.3	2.0	6.0	8.3	7.5
55-59	11.6	5.4	5.6	9.4	9.6
60-64	16.1	10.8	4.5	8.4	10.4
65 +	29.3	22.6	3.8	15.6	22.3
Total number of nuclei	1 235 161		3 528 834	483 642	116 280

This breakdown of stem families therefore gives rise to artificial distributions which cannot be entirely relied upon for the purpose of obtaining data on childhood. It is necessary, in fact, to have distributions that combine these family nuclei with the presence or absence of children according to a specific breakdown by age groups.

Table II-XIV-5 gives the distribution by type of nucleus of the number of children aged under 7, from 7 to 14 and under 18 years old. With this method it is easy to reconstitute the situation of the children with respect to their actual parents ; but it should be remembered that their birth order in the family is not known nor the type of household in which they live, and these are the most important elements for reconstructing their environment. It is indeed impossible to assume that the distribution of family nuclei in multi-family households is unaffected by the number of children since both vary considerably according to age.

There is an unusual table, however, which gives some idea of the situation of young children within households. It shows, in the case of mothers without

Table II-XIV-4*c*

Mothers only with children

Percentages

	Mothers only with children		
	Yugoslavia	Kosovo	Vojvodina
Number of families per household			
1	73.96	44.69	81.43
2	22.08	31.53	17.56
3	3.11	15.27	0.90
4	0.72	6.38	0.08
5	0.07	1.47	0.00
6	0.02	0.39	0.00
7	0.00	0.00	0.00
8	0.00	0.23	0.00
COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS			
One-family households	73.94	44.48	81.43
Mother with children	62.29	37.04	70.17
Mother or father with married son or daughter and their children (grandchildren)	3.85	1.20	5.62
Other one-family households	7.79	6.23	5.63
Households with two or more families	26.03	55.30	18.56
Couple with married daughter with or without children (grandchildren)	2.93	4.94	3.54
Couple with married son and daughter with or without children	0.35	1.45	0.17
Couple with married and unmarried children with or without children	2.52	4.72	2.89
Mother or father with married daughter or son, or both, with or without children	0.92	2.63	0.89
Mother or father with unmarried daughter or son and married daughter or son with or without children	11.16	18.51	7.85
Other multi-family households	8.11	23.01	3.09

Table II-XIV-4*d*

Fathers only with children

Percentages

	Fathers only with children		
	Yugoslavia	Kosovo	Vojvodina
One family households	70.01	82.09	46.03
Father with children	55.85	66.95	39.08
Father or mother with married son or daughter and their children (grandchildren)	5.21	5.94	1.32
Other one-family households	8.93	9.18	5.62
Households with two or more families	29.98	17.19	53.95
Couple with married son with or without children (grandchildren)	4.84	5.51	9.04
Couple with married son and daughter with or without children (grandchildren)	0.28	0.00	0.00
Couple with married and unmarried children with or without children (grandchildren)	3.43	4.09	6.58
Mother or father with married daughter or son, or both, with or without children	0.81	0.19	4.32
Mother or father with unmarried daughter or son and married daughter or son with or without children	12.18	5.60	12.76
Other multi-family households	8.41	2.47	21.20

Table II-XIV-5

Distribution of family nuclei by type and number of children in specific age groups

	Couples with children		Mothers only		Fathers only	
	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number
Number of children under 7 years old						
0	52.50	1 958 509	78.81	381 179	80.51	93 626
1	28.27	997 954	15.34	74 210	14.01	16 295
2	12.53	442 204	4.63	22 407	4.25	4 944
3	3.06	108 047	0.99	4 806	0.95	1 115
4 or more	0.61	22 102	0.21	1 025	0.24	290
Number of children between 7 and 14 years old						
0	52.07	1 837 506	71.35	345 091	70.50	81 978
1	27.83	982 366	18.64	90 185	20.02	23 282
2	14.56	513 959	7.40	35 834	6.48	7 535
3	4.44	156 757	2.14	10 380	2.35	2 736
4 or more	1.08	38 225	0.44	2 133	0.63	736
Number of children under 18 years old						
0	12.97	457 802	42.07	203 469	41.94	48 776
1	34.79	1 227 682	32.94	159 318	33.27	38 688
2	31.92	1 126 713	15.00	72 577	14.74	17 140
3	11.17	394 483	5.72	27 681	5.51	6 417
4	4.78	168 816	2.41	11 661	2.38	2 776
5 or more	4.34	153 321	1.84	8 912	2.11	2 462

spouses, how the children are distributed by types of household and according to school attendance. It seems to indicate a rather confused situation which may be summarized as follows (Table II-XIV-6) :

Table II-XIV-6

Children by number of brothers and sisters	0	1	2 or more
Single-nucleus households	199 231	189 174	223 325
Households with two or more nuclei	82 957	51 458	69 232

In the multi-nucleus households, the size of sibling groups is smaller but the spread is more even. In addition, a smaller number of the children attend school, which indicates an effect of age distribution : among the multi-nucleus households there is a number of widowed or divorced mothers living with married children *and* fairly old unmarried children. Their age distribution confirms this explanation.

Table II-XIV-7 gives a similar impression. All family nuclei consisting of a couple with children are broken down by size and type of household of origin.

Again we find, doubtless for the same reasons, that the number of children is smaller in multi-family households and that their number diminishes more rapidly as the size of the household increases. A comparison of multi-family households in the regions of Vojvodina and Kosovo would confirm these observations since, allowing for differences in size, the same effects would be found.

Let us conclude with a consideration of the data that illustrate the incompatibility between the concepts of family in the demographic sense, family in the biological sense and family in the sense of households (common life or co-residence).

4. DIFFERENT TYPES OF FAMILY

The Yugoslav census very clearly illustrates three possible approaches for linking children with their parents and thus constituting restricted families.

One can look at the number of live-born children a woman has had ; this expresses the demographic view of the family and as such is quite inappropriate for the purpose of ascertaining the family's living conditions. It seems that demographers initially adopted this view for convenience' sake, since it is quite easy in the case of a woman past 50, whatever her age is now, to reconstitute this live-born family from registrations of births or baptisms. Subsequently, with the decline in infant mortality, the question of *surviving* children ceased to be important but demographers have not changed their conceptual approach.

The point of view that may be regarded as biological but also social consists in taking account of surviving children only, the idea being that their existence implies social contacts with their parents even if they do not live near them. A number of surveys have indeed shown that in Europe, despite the spread of households with a single family nucleus, extended families still play a very important role both as regards the economic heritage and in the context of social and affective life.

Table II-XIV-7

Family nuclei (couple with children) by size and type of household of origin

Type of household of origin	Total	Size of household				
		3	4	5	6	7 or more
Total	3 528 834	1 296 643	1 314 749	497 195	213 496	206 738
One-family households	2 769 716	958 819	1 071 032	403 109	171 042	165 695
Couple only with children	2 274 362	798 377	874 002	324 259	139 788	137 923
Father or mother with married son or daughter and their children (grandchildren)	330 436	102 594	136 234	53 105	20 882	17 607
Other one-family households	164 910	57 839	60 788	25 738	10 366	10 159
Households of two or more families	759 115	337 818	243 712	94 084	42 450	41 037
Couple with married son or daughter, or both, with or without children	267 941	110 084	104 263	32 791	12 246	8 544
Couple with married and unmarried children with or without children	248 036	126 893	62 927	29 397	14 385	14 417
Mother or father with married daughters or sons, or both, with or without children	28 795	10 411	8 291	4 364	2 557	3 155
Mother or father with unmarried daughter or son and married daughter or son with or without children	55 349	21 343	18 705	8 496	3 554	3 236
Other multi-family households	158 978	69 068	49 514	19 017	9 694	11 670

Table II-XIV-8*

Number of children — live-born, surviving and present in the family — by type of family nucleus

Number of children	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 +
Couples without children											
Live-born	456 608	168 375	192 339	128 397	89 038	59 771	40 701	32 294	20 740	15 194	20 699
Surviving	504 365	205 258	223 502	132 686	79 448	44 270	24 063	11 365	5 549	1 698	1 140
Present	1 235 161	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Couples with children											
Live-born	81 340	831 374	1 172 404	550 444	299 257	187 323	129 669	91 378	66 213	48 739	66 267
Surviving	85 569	907 599	1 292 127	555 555	288 048	173 399	109 927	59 913	31 160	13 641	8 613
Present	—	1 296 643	1 314 749	497 195	213 796	113 404	55 300	23 641	9 592	4 782	
Mother with children											
Live-born	18 896	117 975	102 900	64 849	44 700	34 884	29 252	20 774	16 524	12 470	19 807
Surviving	19 864	134 106	122 308	75 269	49 115	36 163	22 364	12 036	6 804	3 408	1 778
Present	—	282 193	120 320	46 536	19 623	8 773	4 205	1 192	594	175	
Father with children											
Live-born Surviving	Figures not available										
Present	—	64 037	28 809	13 154	5 342	2 642	1 353	518	317	83	

* The totals are not exact because the size of some families is not known.

The third and last point of view, that of the census, describes the children *present in the home* and thus the usual living conditions of families.

Table II-XIV-8 shows the distribution of families by size from these three viewpoints for the four types of family nucleus. It makes the irreconcilability of these different concepts of the family overwhelmingly apparent. There is just no simple way of moving from one to the other. Thus, from the demographic family to the surviving family, a family of seven live-born children may now have anywhere between zero and 7 survivors. Similarly, between the biological family and the household, a family of seven surviving children may have between zero and 7 present. Other details accentuate these differences to the point where they become gross : with the definitions as they are, women counted among couples without children may have had more than 10 children, all of them still living.

What is even more [illegible]ous, is that couples with children may have had none born live or have none surviving at present. This paradox could be explained by adoptions and, especially, remarriages : a remarried father may have had children who remain his household and his new wife may have had none. (The remarriage theory could not apply to mothers only with their children, unless it be that they have kept the children from a first marriage of their husband who is now absent or deceased.) One can see the complexity of real situations and the difficulty of ascertaining and classifying them all.

Table II-XIV-8 shows that the widest difference is between the « present » category of families and the other two types. The decrease in the number of families according to number of children is much more rapid in that category and is easily explained by the departure of the eldest children to other families (or their presence in another family nucleus in the same household, a further fine distinction marked by these distributions). It may be noted that this decrease in the number of families occurs almost exponentially as from two children. This may be demonstrated by plotting the numbers in terms of family size on semi-log paper : the curves show quite a marked similarity, which implies exponential functions.

Lastly, it must be borne in mind that the difficulties of describing a family are compounded by that of describing children within the household.

The Yugoslav census provides other data on households and families, more particularly on the economic situation of members of the household or of family nuclei, the marital status and age of fathers and mothers, schooling of children or their participation in the labour force.

All these very interesting data are somewhat removed from our central concern, however, and we hope we have extracted the figures that throw most light on the situation of the child, both through what they reveal of a strong familial organisation now rare in European countries, namely the stem family, and through the wide variety of insights they offer into the living conditions of members of these families.

Chapter XV

FORMS AND FORMULATION OF THE FAMILY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

It was in the United Kingdom that the most lively controversy arose over the nature of the household and the family at the beginning of the industrial era.

In contrast with continental demographers, who circumspectly reconstituted families, British historians launched a great argument on the origins of the family by taking the opposite stance to the traditional theories of Le Play or Marx and Engels, who had contended that the nuclear family stemmed from a vast patriarchal family and was a consequence of urbanisation and industrialisation.

To fuel this debate, the British historians — and especially the prestigious Cambridge group of P. Laslett, A. Wrigley and R. Schoffield — collected a great deal of data on family organisation in the pre-industrial era. We will link up some of this information with the latest statistics (1971 Census: Households) to give a historical perspective of the family longer than can be found anywhere else. In this, the earlier data will not be allowed to obscure the present but will show that multi-family households constitute a minor form of the family rather than a relic of the past and that they may well hold their own for a long time to come. It should also be pointed out that the 1961 and 1971 British censuses offer us one of the most comprehensive and precise type classifications, and at the same time one of the most extraordinary.

1. HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY IN THE PAST

P. Laslett has published a series of studies under this title which cover the history of the family in a number of OECD countries: the Netherlands, France, Belgium, the United States, Japan, Yugoslavia and the one that concerns us here, the United Kingdom.

This last study analyses the lists of households of 100 English parishes, the oldest dating back to 1574, four others to before 1650 and 45 between 1650 and 1750. The rest date from 1750 to 1821. The average size of the households remains fairly constant throughout this long period :

4.92 persons (35 parishes) before 1700 ;
4.53 persons (15 parishes) between 1700 and 1750 ;
4.72 persons (10 parishes) between 1750 and 1781 ;
4.70 persons (21 parishes) between 1781 and 1790 ;
5.04 persons (18 parishes) between 1790 and 1821.

According to the census returns, household size continued to be about the same throughout the 19th century and up to 1911, when it began to diminish.

Mean household size in British censuses

1801	4.69
1811	4.74
1821	4.81
1831	4.77
1851	4.83
1861	4.47
1871	4.50
1881	4.61
1891	4.73
1901	4.62
1911	4.65
1921	4.14
1931	3.72
1951	3.19
1961	3.07
1971	3.01

If the smallish mean size of earlier households did not change very much, the distribution of households by size altered enough for there to be wider differences at the level of persons. From their point of view, mean household size is 5.95 for the pre-industrial era, and only 3.68 in 1971.

Table II-XV-1 shows the distribution of households and persons by household size for these two periods.

This fairly small size of households is confirmed by the data on their composition. The numerical distribution of children within the household is as follows for pre-industrial England :

Number of children in household	Percentage of households
1	11.2 %
2	18.4 %
3	23.1 %
4	18.1 %
5	13.4 %
6	7.7 %
7 or more	7.2 %

The most frequent case is the household with three children, a small number in the light of the fertility figures for this era, but then mortality always tends to be overlooked. Similarly, the respective proportions of single- and multi-generation households were not very different from what they are today :

— households of one generation	25.1 %
— households of two generations	69.2 %
— households of three generations	5.7 %
— households of four or + generations	0 %

Table II-XV-1

Size of households in the past and now

Size	1564-1821		1971	
	% households	% persons	% households	% persons
1	6.0	1.3	17.9	9.6
2	14.8	6.3	31.4	21.6
3	16.7	10.8	19.0	19.6
4	15.7	13.5	17.3	23.8
5	14.6	15.7	8.4	14.4
6	11.7	15.1	3.6	7.4
7	7.9	11.9	1.4	3.4
8	5.3	9.1	0.6	1.6
9	2.9	5.6	0.3	0.9
10 or more	6.1	11.5	0.3	1.1

Lastly, these distributions vary according to both locality and socio-economic status of the household. Laslett gives the following statistics on household size (mean of means in each parish) by socio-economic status :

Gentlemen	7.54
Clergy	5.60
Yeomen	5.70
Husbandmen	5.39
Tradesmen and craftsmen	4.72
Labourers	4.34
Paupers	3.74
Others	3.59

These figures could be compared with those currently recorded in the United Kingdom and roughly the reverse situation would be found, though allowance must be made for the presence of servants in the number of persons in past households.

2. THE PRESENT BREAKDOWN OF HOUSEHOLDS

In his study, Laslett cannot resist proposing his own classification of families with a view to comparing « different communities at different times ». He chooses five main categories which in turn are broken down into classes :

- — Solitaries
  - *a*) Widowed
  - *b*) Single or of unknown marital status
- — No family
  - *a*) Coresident siblings
  - *b*) Coresident relatives of other kinds
- — Simple family households
  - *a*) Married couples alone
  - *b*) Married couples with child(ren)
  - *c*) Widowers with child(ren)
  - *d*) Widows with child(ren)
- — Extended family households
  - *a*) Extended upwards
  - *b*) Extended downwards
  - *c*) Extended laterally
  - *d*) Combinations of *a* and *c*
- — Multiple family households
  - *a*) Secondary unit(s) up
  - *b*) Secondary unit(s) down
  - *c*) Units all on one level
  - *d*) Frérèches
  - *e*) Other multiple families
- — Indeterminate

If this proposed classification were taken as a screen through which we passed the various systems already examined, it would be seen that, although the mesh size is very uneven, a compromise is reached between the two main trends : classification by generation and classification by family nuclei.

However, Laslett's classification remains quite British in character. It is in fact very similar to the system proposed for the 1961 and 1971 censuses and reproduced in Table II-XV-2 where it is combined with the number of members in the household. We think it would be helpful now to comment on some of the English denominations.

First, only the family is enumerated. Domestic servants are excluded from the households, which is defined with great precision as a housekeeping unit : « one person living alone or a group of people who may or may not be related living at the same address with common housekeeping and sharing at least one

Table II-XV-2

Households by type and size

Type of household	Person in household 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 or more	Total house-holds	Total per-sons	Persons per household
ALL HOUSEHOLD TYPES	331 962	577 139	345 758	314 759	151 508	65 417	25 213	11 160	4 815	3 985	1 631 716	5 284 764	2.89
NO FAMILY	331 962	62 275	9 104	2 358	713	259	68	39	15	22	406 815	499 538	1.23
One person	331 962										331 962	331 962	1.00
Two or more persons		62 275	9 104	2 358	713	259	68	39	15	22	74 853	167 576	2.24
All related in direct descent, no other(s)		6 877	199	8	3	3	—	—	—	—	7 090	14 416	2.03
Some related in direct descent with other relative(s) only			130	26	2	4	—	1	2	1	166	564	3.40
Some related in direct descent with other relative(s) and unrelated person(s)				8	3	2	—	4	1	1	19	111	5.84
Some related in direct descent with unrelated person(s) only			353	51	11	5	—	—	—	—	420	1 348	3.21
All related but none in direct descent		26 754	3 878	656	172	50	16	5	1	7	31 539	69 165	2.19
Some related, (none in direct descent) with unrelated persons(s)			840	205	67	45	13	12	8	6	1 196	4 272	3.57
All unrelated persons		28 644	3 704	1 404	455	150	39	17	3	7	34 423	77 700	2.26
ONE FAMILY		516 864	336 654	305 184	143 178	59 518	22 477	9 734	6 021	2 967	1 398 597	4 636 470	3.32
Married couple, no child(ren), no other(s)		452 284									452 284	904 568	2.00
Married couple, no child(ren), with other(s)			33 499	2 560	419	147	27	16	12	2	36 682	114 163	3.11
With lone ancestor(s), no other(s)			14 528	95	1	—	—	—	—	—	14 624	43 969	3.01
With lone ancestor(s) and other relative(s) only				436	36	7	1	2	—	—	482	1 989	4.13
With lone ancestor(s), other relative(s) and unrelated person(s)					11	2	3	—	—	—	16	88	5.50
With lone ancestor(s) and unrelated person(s) only				237	27	8	2	2	—	—	276	1 161	4.21
With other relative(s) only (i.e. no lone ancestor(s))			13 208	722	84	24	5	2	3	—	14 048	43 154	3.07
With other relative(s) and unrelated person(s)				318	52	19	2	2	3	—	396	1 703	4.30
With unrelated person(s) only			5 765	752	208	87	14	8	6	2	6 840	22 099	3.23
Married couple with child(ren)* no other(s)			269 214	267 378	118 791	47 573	17 699	7 710	3 113	2 236	733 714	2 993 949	4.08
Married couple with child(ren)* with other(s)				20 304	17 604	8 983	3 574	1 501	699	553	53 218	272 377	5.12
With lone ancestor(s), no other(s)				11 527	9 906	4 150	1 444	431	191	98	27 747	136 844	4.93
With lone ancestor(s) and other relative(s) only					291	218	98	53	24	20	704	4 298	6.11
With lone ancestor(s), other relative(s) and unrelated person(s)						7	7	6	4	5	29	226	7.86
With lone ancestor(s) and unrelated person(s) only					185	184	78	44	20	11	522	3 223	6.17
With other relative(s) only (i.e. no lone ancestor(s))				5 407	3 913	2 151	945	462	242	202	13 322	68 768	5.16
With other relative(s) and unrelated person(s)					149	159	96	54	34	45	537	3 613	6.73
With unrelated person(s) only				3 370	3 160	2 114	906	451	184	172	10 357	55 403	5.35
Lone parent with child(ren)* no other(s)		62 580	22 555	8 769	3 503	1 557	648	258	104	75	100 049	263 086	2.63
Lone parent with child(ren)* with other(s)			11 386	6 173	2 861	1 258	529	249	93	101	22 650	88 327	3.90
With lone ancestor(s), no other(s)			2 768	1 261	395	122	42	19	10	4	4 621	16 636	3.60
With lone ancestor(s) and other relative(s) only				122	59	27	9	1	—	1	219	1 026	4.68
With lone ancestor(s), other relative(s) and unrelated person(s)					4	5	4	1	1	—	15	95	6.33
With lone ancestor(s) and unrelated person(s) only				136	91	37	15	10	4	1	294	1 453	4.94
With other relative(s) only (i.e. no lone ancestor(s))			3 094	1 154	426	160	67	40	14	12	4 967	18 034	3.63
With other relative(s) and unrelated person(s)				136	97	43	30	16	8	8	338	1 785	5.28
With unrelated person(s) only			5 524	3 364	1 789	864	362	162	56	75	12 196	49 298	4.04
TWO FAMILIES				7 217	7 617	5 575	2 586	1 304	698	779	25 776	143 799	5.58
Direct descent				6 296	6 556	4 594	2 014	930	452	486	21 328	116 468	5.46
No child(ren) of second generation, no other(s)				3 839	1 266	516	177	111	47	60	6 016	27 998	4.65
No child(ren) of second generation, lone ancestor(s), with or without other(s)					120	64	35	25	13	12	269	1 674	6.22
No child(ren) of second generation, with other(s) but no lone ancestor(s)					212	101	44	24	11	22	414	2 512	6.07
With child(ren)* of second generation, no other(s)				2 457	4 720	3 518	1 464	610	309	274	13 352	75 439	5.65
With child(ren)* of second generation, with lone ancestor(s) with or without other(s)					56	106	60	34	10	20	286	1 914	6.69
With child(ren)* of second generation, with other(s) but no lone ancestor(s)					182	289	234	126	62	98	991	6 931	6.99
Not direct descent				921	1 061	981	572	374	246	293	4 448	27 331	6.14
No child(ren), no other(s)				328	—	—	—	—	—	—	328	1 312	4.00
No child(ren) lone ancestor(s) with or without other(s)				—	18	5	1	2	—	—	26	143	5.50
No child(ren), with other(s) but no lone ancestor(s)				—	56	13	5	2	1	1	78	429	5.50
With child(ren)*, no other(s)				593	877	762	403	256	127	131	3 149	18 759	5.96
With child(ren)*,with lone ancestor(s) with or without other(s)					37	53	45	23	31	39	228	1 730	7.59
With child(ren)*, with other(s) but no lone ancestor(s)					73	148	118	91	87	122	639	4 958	7.76
THREE OR MORE FAMILIES						65	82	83	81	217	528	4 957	9.39
All direct descent						48	60	65	46	119	338	3 055	9.04
No child(ren) of second or younger generation, no other(s)						18	6	6	1	3	34	240	7.06
No child(ren) of second or younger generation, lone ancestor(s) with or without other(s)							2	1	—	—	3	22	7.33
No child(ren) of second or younger generation, with other(s) but no lone ancestor(s)							1	2	1	3	7	67	9.57
With child(ren)*, no other(s)						30	48	50	38	73	239	2 117	8.86
With child(ren)*, with lone ancestor(s) with or without other(s)							1	—	1	6	8	91	11.38
With child(ren)*, with other(s) but no lone ancestor(s)							2	6	5	34	47	518	11.02
Not all direct descent						17	22	18	35	98	190	1 902	10.01
With lone ancestor(s) with or without other(s)							1	3	3	15	22	244	11.09
No lone ancestor(s) with or without other(s)						17	21	15	32	83	168	1 658	9.87

* Includes grandchildren

meal a day » (definition of 1971). A boarder who shares at least one meal (breakfast is regarded as a meal) is part of the household, whereas a lodger who shares the kitchen but not the meals is counted separately.

This definition is applied to the de facto population, which is used for almost all the tables except those which concern the household and the family, where the principle of the de jure population applies (usual residence and transfer of populations counted in institutional households).

A curious problem arises at this point. In some households, all members were absent on census day. They can therefore only be found through a breakdown of visitors which was not done for the 1 per cent sample (the United Kingdom) but was carried out for the 10 per cent sample (England-Wales).

Although there are a great many household types, they are in fact made up according to a relatively simple principle : households are classified by the number of families they contain, i.e. the conventional family nuclei : couples with or without children, and one-parent families, the children possibly being replaced by grandchildren whose parents are absent.

The households that contain no family are then differentiated, according to every possible combination of three criteria :

— presence or absence of relatives in direct line ;
— presence or absence of other relatives ;
— presence or absence of other persons.

It may be surprising that two relatives in direct line do not form a family ; this is due to the narrow definition of the child, who must be a son or daughter by blood or adoption but must also be still unmarried. A widow living alone with her divorced son therefore forms a two-person household with no family, consisting solely of persons related in direct descent.

In the case of one-family households, which are the most numerous, the three types of family nucleus are then combined in all possible ways (8) with three criteria :

— presence or absence of one or more ancestors without spouse(s) ;
— presence or absence of another related person ;
— presence or absence of another person.

Two-family households are broken down according to whether or not the two nuclei are in direct line, then more narrowly according to the presence or absence of children (of the second generation if the families are in direct line), of an ancestor without spouse or of other persons. The children therefore take the place of the « other relatives » criterion used for one-family households and, in addition, the classification is compressed slightly as the differentiation is no longer made between ancestors who are the only other members and ancestors who are with other related or unrelated persons.

These details become even more complex for households with three or more families. The households with families in direct line are again singled out from the other cases and are then broken down in the same way as the two-family households, although one broader distinction is used in that account is taken only of the presence of a lone ancestor.

This impressive list of 52 types is still simplified, therefore, although we admire its rigorous construction, especially as the actual composition of British households did not make such extensiveness essential. The distribution of persons among the main types is in fact as follows :

Households with no family	9.3 %
Households with one family :	
Couple without children	16.9 %
Couple with children	57.0 %
One parent with children	5.0 %
Households with two families :	
In direct line	2.2 %
Others	0.5 %
Households with three families or more :	
In direct line	0.06 %
Others	0.02 %

To make a comparison with pre-industrial England, this classification by family nuclei would have to be turned into a generational classification, the archetypal problem that we have already experienced with Germany and Japan, but here again impossible to resolve despite the great detail in Table II-XV-2. Nevertheless, we can propose an approximate breakdown which, for the unambiguous cases, would take the following form :

One generation
0a, 0b (5, 6, 7), 1a, 1b (5, 6, 7), 2b (1, 3)

Two generations
1b (1, 2, 3, 4), 1c, 1d (5, 6, 7), 1e, 1f (5, 6, 7), 2a (1, 3), 2b (2, 4, 6)

Three generations or more
1d (1, 2, 3, 4), 1f (1, 2, 3, 4), 2a (2, 4, 5, 6), 2b (5), 3a (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6)

Non-family households consisting of two or more persons in direct line cannot be classified precisely, but we have an important clue : such households without other individuals total 6 877 with two persons and 214 with more than two persons. So we can use this ratio to break down all these households with persons in direct line : 97 per cent with two generations and 3 per cent with three or more generations.

All cases in which there are lone ancestors are theoretically unclassifiable because one such ancestor may be the ancestor of another.

Table II-XV-3

Households by type, size and dependent children

Type of household and number of persons	Dependent children in household						Total households	Total dependent children	Dependent children per household
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or more			
All household types									
1 person	331 962						331 962		
2 persons	565 326	11 813					577 139	11 813	0.02
3 persons	166 092	171 519	8 147				345 758	187 813	0.54
4 persons	51 724	57 724	201 554	3 757			314 759	472 103	1.50
5 persons	11 681	21 737	30 763	85 875	1 452		151 508	346 696	2.29
6 persons	2 623	6 359	11 474	13 716	30 630	615	65 417	196 050	3.00
7 persons	512	1 420	3 278	4 837	5 258	9 908	25 213	93 271	3.70
8 persons	158	352	937	1 726	2 329	5 658	11 160	48 562	4.35
9 persons	50	88	272	587	890	2 928	4 815	23 685	4.92
10 or more persons	39	36	115	277	548	2 970	3 985	23 248	5.83
Total households	1 130 167	271 048	256 540	110 775	41 107	22 079	1 831 716	1 403 241	0.77
Total dependent children		271 048	513 080	332 325	164 428	122 360	1 403 241		
1 One family									
2 persons	503 051	11 813					514 864	11 813	0.02
3 persons	156 988	171 519	8 147				336 654	187 813	0.56
4 persons	44 935	55 261	201 231	3 757			305 184	468 994	1.54
5 persons	9 275	17 439	29 452	85 560	1 452		143 178	338 831	2.37
6 persons	1 902	4 729	8 700	13 138	30 434	615	59 518	186 354	3.13
7 persons	369	1 008	2 421	3 854	5 013	9 812	22 477	86 736	3.86
8 persons	103	238	621	1 320	1 951	5 501	9 734	44 254	4.55
9 persons	26	58	161	393	679	2 704	4 021	20 821	5.18
10 or more persons	11	26	64	170	338	2 358	2 967	18 192	6.13
Total households	716 660	262 091	250 797	108 192	39 867	20 990	1 398 597	1 363 808	0.98
Total dependent children		262 091	501 594	324 576	159 468	116 079	1 363 808		
1*c* One family, married couple with child(ren), no other(s)									
3 persons	107 577	161 637					269 214	161 637	0.60
4 persons	30 065	40 692	196 621				267 378	433 934	1.62
5 persons	5 254	12 483	17 506	83 548			118 791	298 139	2.51
6 persons	931	3 103	6 123	7 799	29 617		47 573	157 214	3.30
7 persons	168	614	1 668	2 827	3 154	9 268	17 699	71 387	4.03
8 persons	35	128	397	958	1 491	4 701	7 710	36 526	4.74
9 persons	9	27	93	249	494	2 241	3 113	16 806	5.40
10 or more persons	1	5	35	99	220	1 876	2 236	14 332	6.41
Total households	144 040	218 689	222 443	95 480	34 976	18 086	733 714	1 189 975	1.62
Total dependent children		218 689	444 886	286 440	139 904	100 056	1 189 975		
1*d* One family, married couple with child(ren), with other(s)									
4 persons	8 845	11 459					20 304	11 459	0.56
5 persons	2 820	4 043	10 741				17 604	25 525	1.45
6 persons	643	1 357	2 152	4 831			8 983	20 154	2.24
7 persons	131	330	643	863	1 607		3 574	10 633	2.98
8 persons	32	91	189	307	367	515	1 501	5 433	3.62
9 persons	5	22	59	125	154	334	699	2 989	4.28
10 or more persons	3	14	24	63	106	343	553	2 811	5.08
Total households	12 479	17 316	13 808	6 189	2 234	1 192	53 218	79 004	1.48
Total dependent children		17 316	27 616	18 567	8 936	6 569	79 004		
1*e* One family, lone parent with child(ren), no other(s)									
2 persons	50 767	11 813					62 580	11 813	0.19
3 persons	9 811	4 597	8 147				22 555	20 891	0.93
4 persons	1 806	1 633	1 573	3 757			8 769	16 050	1.83
5 persons	360	464	613	614	1 452		3 503	9 340	2.67
6 persons	82	125	213	262	260	615	1 557	5 452	3.50
7 persons	18	25	51	82	145	327	648	2 800	4.32
8 persons	6	6	22	25	35	164	258	1 242	4.81
9 persons	—	1	4	9	17	73	104	584	5.62
10 or more persons	—	—	1	—	2	72	75	515	6.87
Total households	62 850	18 664	10 624	4 749	1 911	1 251	100 049	68 687	0.69
Total dependent children		18 664	21 248	14 247	7 644	6 884	68 687		

Table II-XV-3 (*continued*)

	Type of household and number of persons	Dependent children in household: 0	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Total house-hold	Total dependent children	Dependent Children per-house hold
1f	**One family, lone parent with child(ren), with other(s)**									
	3 persons	6 101	5 285					11 386	5 285	0.46
	4 persons	1 659	1 477	3 037				6 173	7 551	1.22
	5 persons	422	449	592	1 398			2 861	5 827	2.04
	6 persons	99	144	212	246	557		1 258	3 534	2.81
	7 persons	25	39	59	82	107	217	529	1 916	3.62
	8 persons	14	13	13	30	58	121	249	1 053	4.23
	9 persons	—	8	5	10	14	56	93	442	4.75
	10 or more persons	5	7	4	8	10	67	101	534	5.29
	Total households	8 325	7 422	3 922	1 774	746	461	22 650	26 142	1.15
	Total dependent children		7 422	7 844	5 322	2 984	2 570	26 142		
2	Two families									
	4 persons	4 431	2 463	323				7 217	3 109	0.43
	5 persons	1 693	4 298	1 311	315			7 617	7 865	1.03
	6 persons	431	1 612	2 760	576	196		5 575	9 644	1.73
	7 persons	68	367	840	971	244	96	2 586	6 416	2.48
	8 persons	14	98	277	391	369	155	1 304	4 123	3.16
	9 persons	7	23	84	160	201	223	698	2 656	3.81
	10 or more persons	4	6	36	75	151	507	779	4 040	5.19
	Total households	6 648	8 867	5 631	2 488	1 161	981	25 776	37 853	1.47
	Total dependent children		8 867	11 262	7 464	4 644	5 616	37 853		
2a	Two families, direct descent									
	4 persons	3 956	2 283	57				6 296	2 397	0.38
	5 persons	1 497	3 912	1 119	28			6 556	6 234	0.95
	6 persons	362	1 461	2 345	408	18		4 594	7 447	1.62
	7 persons	51	322	743	761	133	4	2 014	4 643	2.31
	8 persons	8	81	237	319	247	38	930	2 690	2.89
	9 persons	4	14	60	127	139	108	452	1 625	3.60
	10 or more persons	1	1	25	61	114	284	486	2 394	4.93
	Total households	5 879	8 074	4 586	1 704	651	434	21 328	27 430	1.29
	Total dependent children		8 074	9 172	5 112	2 604	2 468	27 430		
2b	Two families, not direct descent									
	4 persons	475	180	266				921	712	0.77
	5 persons	196	386	192	287			1 061	1 631	1.54
	6 persons	69	151	415	168	178		981	2 197	2.24
	7 persons	17	45	97	210	111	92	572	1 773	3.10
	8 persons	6	17	40	72	122	117	374	1 433	3.83
	9 persons	3	9	24	33	62	115	246	1 031	4 19
	10 or more persons	3	5	11	14	37	223	293	1 646	5.62
	Total households	769	793	1 045	784	510	547	4 448	10 423	2.34
	Total dependent children		793	2 090	2 352	2 040	3 148	10 423		
3	Three or more families									
	6 persons	31	18	14	2			65	52	0.80
	7 persons	7	45	17	12	1		82	119	1.45
	8 persons	2	16	39	15	9	2	83	185	2.23
	9 persons	2	7	27	34	10	1	81	208	2.57
	10 or more persons	2	4	15	32	59	105	217	1 016	4 68
	Total households	44	90	112	95	79	108	528	1 580	2.99
	Total dependent children		90	224	285	316	665	1 580		
3a	Three or more families, all direct descent									
	6 persons	23	15	10				48	35	0.73
	7 persons	3	36	16	5			60	83	1.38
	8 persons	1	15	29	13	5	2	65	142	2.18
	9 persons	1	5	15	19	6	—	46	116	2.52
	10 or more persons	2	1	11	17	33	55	119	532	4.47
	Total households	30	72	81	54	44	57	338	908	2.69
	Total dependent children		72	162	162	176	336	908		
3b	Three or more families, not all direct descent									
	6 persons	8	3	4	2			17	17	1.00
	7 persons	4	9	1	7	1		22	36	1.64
	8 persons	1	1	10	2	4		18	43	2.39
	9 persons	1	2	12	15	4	1	35	92	2.63
	10 or more persons	—	3	4	15	26	50	98	484	4.94
	Total household	14	18	31	41	35	51	190	672	3.54
	Total dependent children		18	62	123	140	329	672		

Table II-XV-4

Families by their position in the household and number of dependent children

	Type of household and number of dependent children	All ages		
		Couples	Father only	Mother only
	All household types			
	Dependent children in family			
	0	669 724	13 965	61 023
	1	244 316	6 294	27 219
	2	239 923	3 022	14 044
	3	102 963	1 191	6 083
	4	37 707	500	2 388
	5 or more	19 587	306	1 506
	Total families	1 314 220	25 278	112 263
	Total dependent children	1 292 229	19 578	91 434
1	One family			
	Dependent children in family			
	0	645 485	13 000	58 175
	1	236 005	4 921	21 165
	2	236 251	2 445	12 101
	3	101 669	978	5 545
	4	37 210	414	2 243
	5 or more	19 278	263	1 449
	Total families	1 275 898	22 021	100 678
	Total dependent children	1 268 979	15 838	78 991
1*c*	One family, married couple with child(ren), no other(s)			
	Dependent children in family			
	0	144 040		
	1	218 689		
	2	222 443		
	3	95 480		
	4	34 976		
	5 or more	18 086		
	Total families	733 714		
	Total dependent children	1 189 975		
1*d*	One family, married couple with child(ren), with other(s)			
	Dependent children in family			
	0	12 479		
	1	17 316		
	2	13 808		
	3	6 189		
	4	2 234		
	5 or more	1 192		
	Total families	53 218		
	Total dependent children	79 004		
1*e*	One family, lone parent with child(ren), no other(s)			
	Dependent children in family			
	0		11 518	51 332
	1		3 113	15 551
	2		1 505	9 119
	3		603	4 146
	4		234	1 677
	5 or more		143	1 108
	Total families		17 116	82 933
	Total dependent children		9 636	59 051
1*f*	One family, lone parent with child(ren), with other(s)			
	Dependent children in family			
	0		1 482	6 843
	1		1 808	5 614
	2		940	2 982
	3		375	1 399
	4		180	566
	5 or more		120	341
	Total families		4 905	17 745
	Total dependent children		6 202	19 940
2	Two families			
	Dependent children in family			
	0	23 660	936	2 785
	1	7 985	1 332	5 877
	2	3 498	565	1 887
	3	1 222	207	520
	4	464	86	140
	5 or more	294	42	52
	Total families	37 123	3 168	11 261
	Total dependent children	22 151	3 652	12 050
2*a*	Two families, direct descent			
	Dependent children in family			
	0	21 319	707	2 276
	1	6 881	561	4 679
	2	2 779	223	1 357
	3	885	59	315
	4	299	22	72
	5 or more	190	7	25
	Total families	32 353	1 579	8 724
	Total dependent children	17 357	1 310	8 763
2*b*	Two families, not direct descent			
	Dependent children in family			
	0	2 341	229	509
	1	1 104	771	1 198
	2	719	342	530
	3	337	148	205
	4	165	64	68
	5 or more	104	35	27
	Total families	4 770	1 589	2 537
	Total dependent children	4 794	2 342	3 287
3	Three or more families			
	Dependent children in family			
	0	579	29	63
	1	326	41	177
	2	174	12	56
	3	72	6	18
	4	33	—	5
	5 or more	15	1	5
	Total families	1 199	89	324
	Total dependent children	1 099	88	393
3*a*	Three or more families, all direct descent			
	Dependent children in family			
	0	402	17	44
	1	215	14	123
	2	96	4	35
	3	40	3	13
	4	10	—	4
	5 or more	8	—	4
	Total families	771	38	223
	Total dependent children	607	31	270
3*b*	Three or more families, not all direct descent			
	Dependent children in family			
	0	177	12	19
	1	111	27	54
	2	78	8	21
	3	32	3	5
	4	23	—	1
	5 or more	7	1	1
	Total families	428	51	101
	Total dependent children	492	57	123

If we examine the breakdown of married couples without children with ancestors only, we find 14 528 with one ancestor, 96 with two or more (who are not necessarily related). It may therefore be assumed that these ancestors always represent one generation only. Lastly, three-generation families that are not in direct line are unclassifiable, but they account for only a tiny part of the population and do not distort the calculation. With these ground rules we then obtain :

Households of 1 generation :	872 400
Households of 2 generations :	907 400
Households of 3 or more generations :	52 000

Households of more than two generations account for only 3 per cent of the total, a percentage comparable to that for multi-family households.

We shall now leave this highly detailed classification (though it will be used in the final section) to take a more direct look at children.

3. DEPENDENT CHILDREN

The United Kingdom census develops several economic concepts in the household and combines these with the more traditional demographic criteria.

Thus we have the concept of « chief economic supporter » who is identified in the household according to the following sequence of criteria :

- persons are classified by activity in the following order : employed full-time, unemployed, employed part-time, retired persons, others ;
- if two or more people are equally eligible, the function in the family is considered in the following order : married men, widowed and divorced persons, others ;
- if there is still more than one eligible person, the choice is made by sex : men, women ;
- lastly, if the head cannot be determined on the basis of the first three rules, the oldest eligible person is picked.

If we place a lot of emphasis on this definition it is because it reveals two features of the United Kingdom census. First, it respects the declaration of the household which has designated its own head, but establishes another definition of this head better suited to the economic purposes of the census as distinct from psychosociological aspects.

The same operation is carried out in the case of children. We have often remarked that children are called « children » simply by virtue of the relationship to their parents, irrespective of age. To screen out persons who are really too old to be included in this term, the United Kingdom census has established the concept of « dependent children » who are defined as :

- all persons under 15 years old ;
- persons between 15 and 24 years old who are enrolled as students.

We now come to the second feature of the United Kingdom census. What we find gradually building up is a sort of « shadow census » with its shadow households (those in which no member was present at his usual address), its shadow heads of household and shadow children : persons who are not chief economic supporters or dependent children. The dependent children provide the only means of our seeing the childhood situation through the census, but the tables on them are among the finest and most comprehensive to be found in the OECD countries.

Let us start with Table II-XV-3. This combines the number of dependent children with the number of persons in the household for the main types of household. If these tables had been available for young children (from 0 to 5 years old, for example) with a breakdown by family nucleus in the household, we would have had some of the best information on their situation.

Another way of getting somewhere near this result is offered by Table II-XV-4 which, according to a similar principle, classifies families (not households) by the number of dependent children, type of household and type of family nucleus to which they belong (the only element missing now is the total size of the household). Here again, many different readings are possible and we do not propose to try to give them all. Instead we have worked out a simple summary showing the average number of dependent children by type of household and nucleus (Table II-XV-5). When the family situation is taken into account, the distribution of mean sizes changes entirely : the fewer people living with a couple, the greater the number of dependent children, while the opposite is true of one-parent families.

One should not be too quick to seek the explanation in the substitute family because certain differences in age may be involved : children living in three-generation families have to be younger than those in

Table II-XV-5

Average number of dependent children by family nucleus and type of household

		Couple with children	Father only	Mother only	Total
Total		0.98	0.77	0.81	0.97
1	One family in the household	0.99	0.72	0.79	0.98
1*c*	Couple alone	1.62			1.62
1*d*	Couple + other persons	1.49			1.49
1*e*	Lone parent		0.56	0.71	0.69
1*f*	Lone parent + others		1.27	1.12	1.17
2	Two families in the household	0.60	1.15	1.07	0.74
2*a*	In direct line	0.54	0.83	1.00	0.64
2*b*	Others	1.01	1.47	1.30	1.17
3	Three or more families in the household	0.92	1.0	1.21	0.98
3*a*	In direct line	0.79	0.82	1.21	0.88
3*b*	Others	1.15	1.12	1.22	1.12

Table II-XV-6

Families by social class, socio-economic class of head and household type

Type of household		Social class of family head						
	All families	I Professional, etc., occupations	II Intermediate occupations	III (N) Skilled occupations Non-manual	III (M) Skilled occupations, -Manual	IV Partly skilled occupations	V Unskilled occupations	Not classified
ALL HOUSEHOLD TYPES	1 451 761	67 690	258 513	156 557	498 306	237 291	96 606	69 432
ONE FAMILY	1 398 597	66 827	252 874	151 695	481 527	227 420	91 893	65 577
Married couple, no child(ren), no other(s)	452 284	20 864	85 085	55 217	149 649	77 348	32 902	21 832
Married couple, no child(ren), with other(s)	36 682	1 218	6 573	4 154	12 386	6 731	2 991	1 688
With lone ancestor(s), no other(s)	14 624	649	3 071	1 980	5 315	2 353	794	259
With lone ancestor(s), and other relative(s) only	482	17	84	57	184	94	26	11
With lone ancestor(s), other relative(s) and unrelated person(s)	16	—	6	2	2	3	3	—
With lone ancestor(s) and unrelated person(s) only	276	7	64	28	97	46	19	9
With other relative(s) only (i.e. no lone ancestor(s))	14 048	305	2 124	1 357	4 762	2 818	1 416	960
With other relative(s) and unrelated person(s)	396	11	54	41	117	76	49	33
With unrelated person(s) only	6 840	229	1 170	689	2 109	1 341	684	416
Married couple with child(ren)*, no other(s)	733 714	41 392	140 992	73 484	287 801	116 535	44 574	20 483
Married couple with child(ren)*, with other(s)	53 218	2 510	10 740	5 038	19 786	9 269	4 028	1 112
With lone ancestor(s), no other(s)	27 747	1 621	6 404	3 096	10 357	4 241	1 439	379
With lone ancestor(s) and other relative(s) only	704	22	150	70	255	125	59	11
With lone ancestor(s), other relative(s) and unrelated person(s)	29	—	7	1	9	10	2	—
With lone ancestor(s) and unrelated person(s) only	522	27	137	40	187	82	28	11
With other relative(s) only (i.e. no lone ancestor(s)	13 322	318	1 842	923	5 202	2 817	1 539	385
With other relative(s) and unrelated person(s)	537	10	56	47	191	109	86	20
With unrelated person(s) only	10 357	512	2 144	861	3 585	1 885	875	306
Lone parent with child(ren)*, no other(s)	100 049	688	7 557	10 868	8 992	13 986	5 891	18 253
Lone parent with child(ren)*, with other(s)	22 650	155	1 927	2 934	2 713	3 551	1 507	2 209
With lone ancestor(s), no other(s)	4 621	45	507	1 061	478	762	247	196
With lone ancestor(s) and other relative(s) only	219	3	17	40	30	45	7	15
With lone ancestor(s), other relative(s) and unrelated person(s)	15	—	1	3	2	2	1	—
With lone ancestor(s) and unrelated person(s) only	294	1	35	44	30	42	22	11
With other relative(s) only (i.e. no lone ancestor(s))	4 967	19	313	374	461	680	357	1 024
With other relative(s) and unrelated person(s)	338	1	24	21	49	43	36	38
With unrelated person(s) only	12 196	86	1 030	1 391	1 663	1 977	837	925
TWO FAMILIES	51 552	848	5 548	4 766	16 298	9 528	4 489	3 726
Direct descent	42 656	679	4 763	4 097	13 810	7 760	3 633	3 158
No child(ren) of second generation, no other(s)	12 032	253	1 425	1 056	4 611	2 264	1 042	857
No child(ren) of second generation, lone ancestor(s), with or without other(s)	538	11	81	42	194	96	57	21
No child(ren) of second generation, with other(s) but no lone ancestor(s)	828	8	85	68	303	164	84	74
With child(ren)* of second generation, no other(s)	26 704	373	2 927	2 691	7 989	4 757	2 220	2 034
With child(ren)* of second generation, with lone ancestor(s), with or without others(s)	572	8	59	73	179	114	34	25
With child(ren)* of second generation with other(s) but no lone ancestors(s)	1 982	26	186	167	534	365	196	147
Not direct descent	8 896	169	785	669	2 488	1 768	856	568
No child(ren), no other(s)	656	38	83	63	205	128	52	58
No child(ren), lone ancestor(s) with or without other(s)	52	1	8	6	11	13	5	6
No child(ren), with other(s) but no lone ancestor(s)	156	3	23	13	48	32	20	12
With child(ren)*, no other(s)	6 298	102	530	441	1 764	1 196	597	379
With child(ren)*, with lone ancestor(s) with or without other(s)	456	10	48	48	120	85	49	32
With child(ren)*, with other(s) but no lone ancestor(s)	1 278	15	93	98	340	314	133	81
THREE OR MORE FAMILIES	1 612	15	91	96	481	343	224	129
All direct descent	1 032	9	58	53	314	202	143	91
No child(ren) of second or younger generation, no other(s)	102	—	15	2	47	14	13	6
No child(ren) of second or younger generation, lone ancestor(s) with or without other(s)	9	2	—	1	2	—	4	—
No child(ren) of second or younger generation, with other(s) but no lone ancestor(s)	21	—	1	—	11	3	3	—
With child(ren)*, no other(s)	731	4	35	43	208	145	101	66
With child(ren)*, with lone ancestor(s) with or without other(s)	24	—	—	—	12	5	4	1
With child(ren)*, with other(s) but no lone ancestor(s)	145	3	7	7	34	35	18	18
Not all direct descent	580	6	33	43	167	141	81	38
With lone ancestor(s) with or without other(s)	68	—	2	3	22	13	10	4
No lone ancestor(s) with or without other(s)	512	6	31	40	145	128	71	34

* Includes grandchildren.

two-generation families. There are also economic and social reasons : the couple who had remained in a family of origin, leave it when their children are born.

Lastly, there is one final bias that makes interpretation risky : type *a* and *c* families without children have been excluded. If they are re-introduced (thereby making it possible to compare the situation of couples by type of household), we get for couples whose family constitutes the whole household, 1.0 children per family instead of 1.62, and for households in which there are other persons with the family nucleus, 0.88 children on average (instead of 1.49). However, these new figures can no longer be compared with those for lone fathers or mothers with children, since the latter always have children by definition. The figures in Table II-XV-5 therefore have to be used direct to compare types of nucleus.

This kind of difficulty shows that extreme caution is required in any interpretation.

4. VARIATIONS IN FAMILY STRUCTURE ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

No further information is available on the age structure of children in the family, but the United Kingdom census shows us a good way of examining the differences in household composition according to social class. Almost every country produces a lot of statistics on this subject. Very considerable detail is provided on occupations, but the data on households is often over-simplified, whereas in the United Kingdom we find tables almost identical to those already put forward. Thus, Table II-XV-6 gives a breakdown of households by the six social classes used in the United Kingdom statistics. There, a couple of salient points may be noted. First, the number of extended families and multi-family households decreases with advance up the social scale, as the following percentages show very clearly:

	Social classes						
	I	II	III(N)	III(M)	IV	V	Others
Per cent of nuclear households	93	94	89	90	88	86	86
Per cent of extended households	6	4	8	7	8	9	8
Per cent of multi-family households	1	2	3	3	4	5	6

Secondly, the proportion of multi-family households in the last class and that of extended families are comparable with those observed in pre-industrial England. As against this, Table II-XV-7 (similar to Table II-XV-4, but tabulating occupations instead of household types) shows no very appreciable differences in the numbers of dependent children in the families, which are respectively: 0.96, 0.84, 1.01, 1.17, 0.95, 1.08, 1.09.

Here we find the conventional fertility scale, also known as the « J curve » because the upper social classes have an average number of children, the middle classes a small number and the working classes are the most fertile. However, the differences are not as pronounced as those found in 17th and 18th century England either in scale or, more particularly, in orientation.

There are similar tables specifically for Scotland and England-Wales, but they do not really add anything to what has been observed concerning household types, dependent children or behavioural differences between the main social classes.

Table II-XV-7

Number of dependent children by social class and type of family

Number of dependent children	Couple	Father only	Mother only
	I Professional, etc., occupations		
0	27 126	261	107
1	12 840	195	123
2	16 879	92	60
3	7 237	26	17
4	2 093	8	8
5 or more	612	3	3
Total families	66 787	585	318
Total dependent children	79 958	504	341
	II Intermediate occupations		
0	122 044	1 716	2 897
1	46 673	850	2 446
2	50 911	462	1 144
3	20 207	139	439
4	6 244	38	105
5 or more	2 138	22	38
Total families	248 217	3 227	7 069
Total dependent children	245 747	2 462	6 675
	III (N) Skilled occupations Non-manual		
0	76 220	1 142	5 366
1	26 698	486	5 326
2	25 688	224	2 249
3	8 887	74	560
4	2 465	19	137
5 or more	969	7	40
Total families	140 927	1 952	13 678
Total dependent children	119 867	1 268	12 267
	III (M) Skilled occupations Manual		
0	229 781	4 560	2 286
1	97 214	2 528	1 417
2	93 510	1 246	521
3	40 528	519	160
4	15 363	218	51
5 or more	8 263	119	22
Total families	484 659	9 190	4 457
Total dependent children	512 826	8 088	3 264
	IV Partly skilled occupations		
0	119 348	2 911	6 928
1	38 642	1 232	4 620
2	33 492	520	2 020
3	15 647	199	801
4	6 548	92	260
5 or more	3 855	54	122
Total families	217 532	5 008	14 751
Total dependent children	200 104	3 530	12 760
	V Unskilled occupations		
0	51 212	1 715	3 150
1	13 643	700	1 218
2	11 173	296	562
3	6 466	129	254
4	3 265	62	118
5 or more	2 546	42	55
Total families	88 305	2 944	5 357
Total dependent children	82 875	2 166	3 885

Chapter XVI

HIERARCHICAL COMPOSITION OF FRENCH HOUSEHOLDS

The British way of describing the family in the household, and the American way of describing children in the family, each provided a partial answer to the problem of depicting the immediate environment of children. All that would be needed, presumably, would be to combine these two solutions and so get a more comprehensive view. But what seems possible in theory, presents formidable difficulties in practice. The French system of « households and families » analysis is a good example. When we look at all the different approaches that have been tried there and the difficulties that arise as a result of them, we see that the problem, far from being settled, has hardly even been stated.

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The concept of the household is older than that of the individual ; it stems from the « feu » (hearth) of yesteryear. It is the census enumeration unit, but it is also the place that harbours the assets that interest the income tax authorities.

Statistics on households are therefore one of the oldest and most constant elements of French censuses. From 1851 to 1911, there was always a short chapter describing households according to size and often also according to one or two dwelling characteristics. Early this century, the individual schedule slipped into the household schedule and since the tax authorities were now employing more sophisticated methods to pin down the taxpayer, the household concept lapsed, as it were. The household continued to appear only because it was there before ; the chapter from the preceding census was recopied and the figures in the tables just changed. The households category was there for the taking and the first studies on dwellings seized on it.

The household was to become the equivalent of the dwelling, which, under the influence of public health experts and urban speculators, now made its appearance in the statistics. The censuses began to count kitchens, rooms and amenities, and placed the household inside the dwelling with no other detail than the number of members in it.

In the 1954 Census, the « household-dwellings » section still reflected this state of mind, but economic categories were beginning to feature in households as well as in dwellings. The number of economically active persons was counted, the occupation of the head of household was noted, and an interest was also taken in other dependent persons : « children under 16 ». Apart from them, there is no trace of the family, which has followed a quite different path of statistical evolution, as we shall now see.

The first section on families published for the 1906 Census states that « the low French birth rate has occasioned much research designed to reveal the reasons for this disturbing state of affairs ».

The practice as from 1886, had been to count the number of *present* or *surviving* children, a question to that end having been introduced into the census. But, in 1906, the question concerned the number of *live-born* children. The « family » consequently began to branch away from the household and soon became no more than an enumeration of female fertility as described in the first part of the study. The census sections on the family succeeded one another up to 1946, without ever providing the answer to the riddle posed in 1906. Then, after the war, it was found that the secular decline in fertility had almost inexplicably come to a halt. The problem had quite simply disappeared without ever being solved. The « families » section disappeared too in 1954, but came back in 1962 bracketed with the « households » section, the family being placed in the household in a completely different form. The number of children born was disregarded ; it was the family's present situation that was considered.

With this rethinking of the family the dross from the past was swept away and the field was clear for a logical system of classification to be built from scratch. In the event this enviable situation produced a curious edifice very different from the ones we have already seen, and also very complicated since its purpose, as the title of this chapter indicates, is to serve as a bridge between family and household ; it is therefore neither a type classification of households, nor a classification of the family, but the linkage of family and household.

2. FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS IN 1962 AND 1968

The introduction of the family first of all changed the character of the enumeration process : before 1962, the populations « comptées à part » (institutional population) and other communities were considered separately. As long as the private household is regarded as the sum of its members or of some of them, this does not matter, but the arrival of the family completely upsets things since, in the absence of certain members, it is impossible to understand the familial structure of the household and even pointless to try. So, in 1962, boarders in many institutional households were reclassified in their own families. But that made it impossible to compare the findings for 1962 with those of previous censuses, which was rather disappointing to the statisticians, who had long traditional series on households. And the change was by no means negligible : it concerned 1 260 340 reclassified persons and showed up 17 760 dwellings which would otherwise have been considered empty.

Table II-XVI-1 illustrates this problem by comparing the breakdown of households in 1962 with what it would have been if the old definition had been kept A step having been taken from the household to the family, a much longer one was taken from the family to the household.

Into the household defined on the dwelling concept as all persons, related or not, who share a private dwelling, i.e. a separate and independent housing unit, « family nuclei », themselves containing « biological nuclei », were introduced and the relationship between these constituents was described. In spite of the analagous designations, the structure is very different from what we have seen so far. It represents a mechanistic view of the household which is taken apart, then reassembled and an attempt made to show how it operates.

First, the household is examined to see if it contains « secondary nuclei » consisting of persons *other* than the head of household and related by marriage or direct filial relation (these are the four conventional types of nuclear family), but the definition of the couple is more extensive since people living in consensual union are counted as couples ; the definition of children is also quite broad since they may be widowed or divorced. Secondary nuclei are then identified according to the relationship between their head and the household head (person in the household who has declared himself to be its head or has been declared as such).

Next, the *main nucleus* is defined in its relationship to the secondary nucleus. If a household contains no secondary nucleus, it is called a *single-nucleus* household and includes all members.

The third step is to identify, within the family nuclei, biological nuclei which are in fact the traditional nuclear family with a further constraint regarding children, who must not be over 25 years old (this was also the concern of the British census, which identified « dependent children »).

The members of the biological family are identified by their relationship to the head of family (the man and, if not, the woman) and then assigned, according to the type of nucleus in which they are, to single, secondary or main biological families. Very often, this breakdown of the household gives similar results to those that would be obtained with the British or Scandinavian definitions, but there are cases where not only is the structure different but, more importantly, it changes if the head of household changes. An example of this will be found in Figure II-XVI-1, which describes a very simple family : a mother with her 24-year-old son and 28-year-old daughter. If the mother is designated head of household (a) we have a single family nucleus comprising the three persons (since there are no

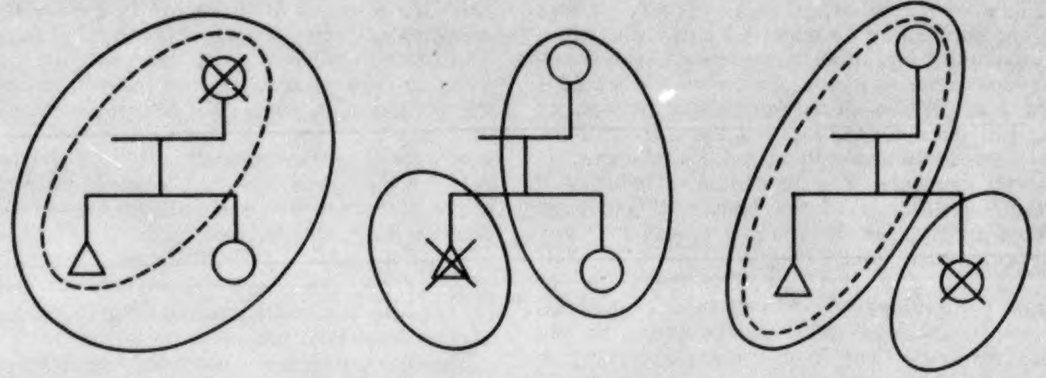
Table II-XVI-1

Distribution of households according to number of persons, applying the definitions of the 1954 and 1962 Censuses

	1954 Definition (NPO)										Total
1962 Definition (NPT)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 or more	
1	15 780	2 838 360	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 854 140
2	1 060	62 040	3 844 200	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3 907 300
3	340	6 080	199 820	2 512 880	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 719 120
4	240	1 000	26 040	217 020	1 896 040	—	—	—	—	—	2 140 340
5	140	380	4 300	28 800	169 800	1 168 880	—	—	—	—	1 372 300
6	60	100	800	5 100	23 500	108 900	625 380	—	—	—	763 840
7	60	100	240	1 020	3 700	17 620	62 100	311 840	—	—	396 680
8	20	40	40	160	940	2 840	9 680	35 180	152 860	—	201 760
9 or more	60	20	—	20	160	920	2 620	7 740	23 080	171 520	206 140
Total	17 760	2 908 120	4 075 440	2 765 000	2 094 140	1 299 160	699 780	354 760	175 940	171 520	14 561 620

Source : « Ménages-familles », 1962 General Census, INSEE, Paris, 1968.

Figure II.XVI.1



(a) (b) (c)

secondary nuclei) and a single biological nucleus containing the mother and the son (the daughter being excluded by her age).

Let us now assume that the son is head of household (b). The mother and daughter form a secondary nucleus, the son alone forms the main nucleus (by distinction) and there are now no biological nuclei. Lastly, if the daughter is designated head of household (c), there is once again a secondary nucleus (mother and son), which is also a secondary biological nucleus, and a main nucleus — the daughter.

As we can see, the choosing of the family head is no light matter. The subsequent structure of the household depends on this choice. This is all the more true in that the authors of the census state that « the biological family — confined to the persons present in the household, or not present but reintegrated into the household — is a *family unit* in the strict sense ». Finally, according to the connection between the head of a biological family and the head of household, the following are identified :

« child » biological families
« parent » biological families
« relative » biological families
« friend, boarder, lodger » biological families
« servant and housed employee » biological families.

This construction of the household was retained in 1968, except for the biological families.

3. FINDINGS ON HOUSEHOLDS

Table II-XVI-3 briefly compares the distribution of households by type in 1962 and 1968.

In spite of the impossibility of relating this typology to that of other countries, it may be allowed that the conventional nuclear families are *at least* more numerous than « households consisting of one family » and that 5 per cent of the population at most live in extended or multiperson families in the conventional sense of those terms. The comparison between 1962 and 1968 reveals the traditional trend towards a smaller type of family.

The French census uses the same classification for a breakdown between French and foreign households. The percentage distribution of foreign households is roughly the same by family-type, but the families within a given type become larger as the size of the household increases. So there are no significant structural differences, just higher fertility in families of foreigners.

The differences in family structure must therefore be sought elsewhere than in nationality — in the way of life, for example, or, more narrowly, in what the French call the « catégorie socio-professionnelle » (socio-economic category). Table II-XVI-4 shows that mainly farmers live in extended families (8 per cent of them, as against 1.5 per cent for manual workers and 1.2 per cent for non-manual workers). Although these farmers account for only 8 per cent of total households, they represent 31 per cent of multi-family households. The category that contains the greatest number of composite households after farmers is that of « employers in commerce and industry », which consists largely of craftsmen and tradesmen. It is therefore the traditional trades whose work is often closely associated with the family that show the greatest variety in household structure.

At the other end of the scale, service personnel and economically inactive persons have the leanest structure (many lone persons). The complex classification of households and families therefore corresponded to a similar complexity of traditional housekeeping units. The innovation of 1962 was therefore

Table II-XVI-3

Private households according to family structure

	All households					Household consisting of .. families											
			No. of secondary families			0	1				2						3 or more
	Total No. of households	Total No. of families	Total	Living with a main family	Proportion of house-holds comprising 2 or more families		Total No. of households	*Of which* households comprising one family, its head being related to the head of household as :			Total No. of households	*Of which* households comprising one main family and one secondary family related as :				Households with 2 secondary families	
								Head of household	Child	Other relationship		Total	Child	Parent	Other relationship		
Number of households	15 778 100	12 062 760	488 480	336 260	2.1	4 055 200	11 388 940	11 243 920	108 420	36 600	328 060	324 460	217 840	82 800	23 820	3 600	5 900
Percentage	*100.0*					*25.7*	*72.2*	*71.3*	*0.7*	*0.2*	*2.1*	*2.1*	*1.4*	*0.5*	*0.2*	*ε*	*ε*
Corresponding population	48 310 940	43 110 960	2 758 160	2 019 540	4.3	5 199 980	41 064 580	40 063 660	483 780	146 140	1 991 420	1 964 580	1 295 640	513 300	155 640	26 870	54 960
Percentage	*100.0*					*10.8*	*85.0*	*83.7*	*1.0*	*0.3*	*4.1*	*4.1*	*2.7*	*1.1*	*0.3*	*ε*	*0.1*
							1962 Census (exhaustive)										
Number of households	14 588 931	11 358 143	654 354	442 453	3.0	3 678 171	10 472 350	10 270 312	160 154	41 884	429 437	424 507	314 599	74 025	35 883	4 930	8 973
Percentage	*100.0*					*25.2*	*71.8*	*70.4*	*1.1*	*0.3*	*2.9*	*2.9*	*2.2*	*0.5*	*0.2*	*ε*	*0.1*

Source : « Ménages-familles », results of 1962 Census, INSEE, Paris 1973.

Table II-XVI-4

Private households according to family structure, by socio-economic category of the head of household

Socio-economic category of household head	All households					Households consisting of ... families										
			Number of secondary families			0	1				2					3
	Total No. of house-holds	Total No. of families	Total	Living with a main family	Proportion of households comprising two families or more		Total No. of house-holds	Relationship of family head to household head :			Total No. of house-holds	Of which : households comprising one main family and one secondary family related as :			Households with two secondary families	
								Head of household	Child	Other relationship		Child	Descendant	Other relationship		
Farmer	1 265 620	1 200 800	136 660	103 920	*8.2*	169 700	992 700	961 880	18 540	12 280	101 560	63 440	33 820	3 340	960	1 660
Percentage	*100.0*					*13.4*	*78.5*				*8.0*					*0.1*
Farm worker	303 500	251 020	8 300	6 800	*2.2*	59 300	237 500	236 040	620	840	6 580	4 240	1 720	600	20	120
Percentage	*100.0*					*19.5*	*78.3*				*2.2*					*ε*
Employer in industry or commerce	1 281 320	1 149 680	48 580	36 140	*2.8*	168 040	1 077 580	1 065 660	8 980	2 940	35 000	22 920	7 980	3 840	260	700
Percentage	*100.0*					*13.1*	*84.1*				*2.7*					*0.1*
Liberal profession or senior management	798 620	718 560	11 340	9 540	*1.2*	89 620	699 580	697 820	560	1 200	9 280	4 160	2 540	2 560	20	140
Percentage	*100.0*					*11.2*	*87.6*				*1.2*					*ε*
Middle management	1 167 800	972 020	13 740	10 900	*0.9*	206 720	950 200	947 440	1 100	1 660	10 820	4 500	5 160	1 120	40	60
Percentage	*100.0*					*17.7*	*81.4*				*0.9*					*ε*
Clerical worker	1 184 120	915 760	18 620	14 320	*1.2*	282 740	887 140	882 960	2 080	2 100	14 100	7 480	5 200	1 360	60	140
Percentage	*100.0*					*23.9*	*74.9*				*1.2*					*ε*
Manual worker	4 412 300	3 940 260	78 220	67 280	*1.5*	539 460	3 806 440	3 795 780	6 360	4 300	65 380	37 940	21 460	5 840	140	1 020
Percentage	*100.0*					*12.2*	*86.3*				*1.5*					*ε*
Service personnel	387 940	224 700	7 560	4 520	*1.2*	167 860	215 600	212 760	2 340	500	4 340	2 820	1 020	400	100	140
Percentage	*100.0*					*43.3*	*55.6*				*1.1*					*ε*
Other category	307 900	268 780	3 940	3 120	*1.0*	42 260	262 600	261 820	60	720	2 940	1 400	1 220	300	20	100
Percentage	*100.0*					*13.7*	*85.3*				*1.0*					*ε*
Unoccupied person	4 668 980	2 421 180	161 520	79 720	*1.7*	2 329 500	2 259 600	2 181 760	67 780	10 060	78 060	68 940	2 680	4 460	1 980	1 820
Percentage	*100.0*					*49.9*	*48.4*				*1.7*					*ε*
Total	15 778 100	12 062 760	488 480	336 260	*2.1*	4 055 200	11 388 940	11 243 920	108 420	36 600	328 060	217 840	82 800	23 820	3 600	5 900
Percentage	*100.0*					*25.7*	*72.2*				*2.1*					*ε*

Source : « Ménages-familles », 1968 Census, INSEE, Paris, 1973.

backward-looking and in 1968 the tables showing the detailed structure of households and combining this with family structure disappeared, or began to. So we shall now present some tables for 1962 to show the consequences of this description of the family, since they are the most remarkable.

4. FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS

The first table (II-XVI-5) reveals two peculiarities of the French classification. First, the census moves outside the traditional legal categories and tries to identify real relationships (consensual union), but it does not go so far as to combine these and legal situations in one and the same category (as was the case in certain Nordic countries). Secondly, strange figures appear in certain columns : for instance, 660 persons under 15 years of age are « progenitors of the head of household or his spouse ». Luckily a footnote states « these figures have no significance and are due to errors of calculation ». The reader should not be unduly surprised at encountering these errors for the first time, for it would be asking rather a lot to believe that the censuses in other countries and at other times were perfect. Of more concern, perhaps, are the corrections that would have been made. The existence of such errors indeed raises serious problems, for they are not necessarily confined to extreme and impossible situations. They can also occur in customary situations ; so one would like to know how accurate the data are for those cases. But this is not really so serious since the largest categories will always be known pretty well ; on the other hand, the categories that are rare and very interesting for an analysis of the family may be entirely distorted by such errors : how many mistakes of calculation are there for those 160 youths aged from 15 to 19 who are classified as living in « consensual union with the head of household » ? Similarly, the 2 520 females aged 35 to 44 classified as « progenitors of the head of household » are

Table II-XVI-5

Population of private households (excluding mobile housing units) according to sex, age and relationship to head of household

Sex and age	Total	Connection with household head								
		House-hold head	Legal spouse of house-hold head	Consensual union with head of household	Child, grandchild of house-hold head or his spouse	Progenitor of house-hold head or his spouse	Other relative of house-hold head or his spouse	Friend	Boarder lodger	Servant, house-employee
		Whole of France								
Male										
0 to 14 years	5 821 420	*2 620	*740	*40	5 696 920	*660	42 960	8 100	66 620	2 760
15 to 19 years	1 708 000	18 380	500	160	1 575 360	*280	33 940	9 100	15 940	54 340
20 to 24 years	1 217 920	197 900	3 540	1 580	905 380	*580	43 240	23 180	22 480	20 040
25 to 34 years	3 081 740	2 135 400	8 680	10 400	750 160	*820	59 400	49 840	27 500	39 540
35 to 44 years	2 960 340	2 544 480	8 140	15 100	292 640	*1 180	37 680	23 220	11 980	25 920
45 to 54 years	2 472 000	2 265 400	6 600	20 000	83 540	5 660	38 980	15 360	10 120	26 340
55 to 64 years	2 497 940	2 318 440	7 040	20 580	30 020	34 540	40 940	12 600	9 700	24 080
65 to 74 years	1 368 460	1 240 880	3 300	11 080	3 500	69 820	22 460	6 820	4 400	6 200
75 and over	729 660	582 240	1 100	3 960	2 140	113 160	18 160	4 580	2 840	1 480
Total	21 857 480	11 305 740	39 640	82 900	9 339 660	226 700	337 760	152 800	171 580	200 700
Female										
0 to 14 years	5 620 640	*1 220	*3 300	*60	5 498 300	*1 020	48 520	7 760	57 860	2 600
15 to 19 years	1 639 860	10 240	29 520	740	1 479 300	*540	34 060	7 600	11 800	66 060
20 to 24 years	1 275 900	65 060	446 100	7 760	640 720	*440	32 940	17 140	14 440	51 300
25 to 34 years	3 043 000	164 500	2 242 400	33 600	500 260	*860	36 620	17 560	9 360	37 840
35 to 44 years	2 980 020	250 500	2 377 040	44 340	234 140	*2 520	34 540	11 560	4 100	21 280
45 to 54 years	2 565 320	412 560	1 924 280	40 220	90 180	23 940	43 060	8 760	2 720	19 600
55 to 64 years	2 758 620	727 800	1 730 060	29 160	40 660	116 800	69 420	12 220	3 400	29 100
65 to 74 years	2 091 280	892 500	829 520	14 900	6 940	244 020	70 820	12 720	3 520	16 340
75 and over	1 364 520	708 000	199 120	4 600	4 300	373 520	56 500	11 800	3 080	3 600
Total	23 339 160	3 232 380	9 781 340	175 380	8 494 800	763 660	426 480	107 120	110 280	247 720
Both sexes together										
0 to 14 years	11 442 060	*3 840	*4 040	*100	11 195 220	*1 680	91 480	15 860	124 480	5 360
15 to 24 years	5 841 680	291 580	479 660	10 240	4 600 760	*1 840	144 180	57 020	64 660	191 740
25 to 54 years	17 102 420	7 772 840	6 567 140	163 660	1 950 920	34 980	250 280	126 300	65 780	170 500
55 and over	10 810 480	6 469 860	2 770 140	84 280	87 560	951 860	278 300	60 740	26 940	80 800
Total	45 196 640	14 538 120	9 820 980	258 280	17 834 460	990 360	764 240	259 920	281 860	448 420

Source : « Menages-familles », 1968, Census, Paris, 1973.

* Effectif non significatif.

reckoned to be « of no significance », but one could think of a number of real situations that might fit them.

Putting these problems to one side, one finds a real fineness of detail which distinguishes between friend, boarder, servant or housed employee, and is in welcome contrast with the curt designation « persons outside the family » found several times in other censuses. After these first findings, the 1962 Census really gets down to using the system it has chosen. It cross-classifies the two storeys of the edifice : nuclei (biological or not) and households (Table II-XVI-6). The rows in this table describe the position of the nucleus within the household, first identifying the nature of the household (mono- or multinuclear) and then the elements not belonging to the nucleus but not forming a nucleus themselves : lone ancestor or relative, or a person with no kinship with the head of the nucleus.

The columns describe the internal composition of the nucleus examined, i.e. the number of relatives and children present, according to the three traditional types of nucleus (couple with or without children, father with children and mother with children).

This is one of the most detailed type classifications and permits a number of readings and comparisons : dependent children according to type of nucleus, integration of one-parent nuclei into larger households, extent of kinship and non-kinship ties, generational depth. However, the classification is still by no means complete. First of all, there is a number of heterogeneous situations grouped together under the « nucleus composed differently » heading. A footnote describes their scope ; although the nucleus-type code covers 103 items for the main nuclei and 23 for the secondary nuclei, the following situations are not covered :

— single or main nuclei comprising more than 12 persons or more than 10 children, or more than 3 ancestors ;

— rare combinations of sub-codes such as a single nucleus consisting of a mother, a child, an ancestor and two other relatives, or again a father with three children, an ancestor and a boarder.

As such situations amount to less than 6 per cent of all cases, it is understandable that they should be counted together.

A second shortcoming is much more serious since it concerns 5 per cent of all nuclei : the composition of the secondary nuclei and their relationship to the main nucleus are not known and they are considered en bloc. In point of fact, this is because another table specifically describes them (II-XVI-7). In that table, the type of relationship is combined with the type of secondary nucleus and a very rough classification of household types according to the nature of the main nucleus. The presence of lone ancestors or relatives and the number of children in the secondary nucleus are no longer indicated. This table represents one last effort to master the structures of the household, but it only half succeeds since the artificial breakdown of the households into secondary nuclei entailing so many possible combinations according to the situation of the household head leads to a large proportion of « other cases »[1]. Be that as it may, one or two important facts emerge from Table II-XVI-7. Co-residence of nuclei mainly concerns one or more parents, one of whom is head of household, and one of their children with his or her spouse (63 per cent of all cases), otherwise the spread of situations is broad.

Lastly, there is a very extensive 25-page table (not reproduced here) which is constructed in the following manner :

Farming or other occupation and type of area of residence cross-classified with age of the head of main nucleus, the whole cross-classified with the following types of nucleus :

— single nuclei consisting of a couple and up to 9 children (10 cases) — male head ;

— single nuclei consisting of a couple and a parent and up to 6 children (7 cases) — male head ;

— single nuclei consisting of a couple and a relative and up to 4 children (5 cases) — male head ;

— single nuclei consisting of a couple and an unrelated person, and up to 3 children (4 cases) — male head ;

— single nuclei consisting of a couple and up to 2 children (3 cases) — female head ;

— single nucleus consisting of one man with no spouse and up to 4 children (5 cases) ;

— single nucleus consisting of one man with no spouse and with a parent ;

— single nucleus consisting of one man and a relative ;

— single nucleus consisting of one man and two relatives ;

— single nucleus consisting of one man and an unrelated person ;

— single nucleus consisting of one man and two unrelated persons ;

— single nucleus consisting of one woman with no spouse and up to 5 children (6 cases) ;

— woman with no spouse and with a parent ;

— woman with no spouse and with a parent and one child ;

— woman with no spouse and with a relative ;

— woman with no spouse and with a relative and one child ;

— woman with no spouse and with two relatives ;

— woman with no spouse and with one unrelated person ;

---

[1] Such as the case in which the spouse of the head of household is part of a secondary nucleus.

Tab

Nuclei (single, main and secondary) accordi

Type of nucleus	All nuclei						Nucleus with one			
	Total	Number of children					Total	Number of children		
		0	1	2	3	4 or more		0	1	2
Single nuclei										
Nuclei consisting of a single person	2 897 300	2 897 300	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pure nuclei (*a*)	9 505 980	3 097 320	2 609 120	1 840 900	1 005 200	953 440	8 713 620	3 097 320	2 127 360	1 665 2
Nuclei containing in addition :										
1 ancestor	672 800	226 040	168 180	140 080	77 500	61 000	543 420	135 080	147 080	129 7
1 relative	393 260	234 160	63 500	45 460	26 580	23 560	212 140	76 120	49 640	40 0
1 non-relative	217 280	140 320	35 600	20 360	11 860	9 140	93 480	37 920	22 140	15 4
2 ancestors	13 040	5 100	3 520	2 640	1 780	—	10 640	2 700	3 520	2 6
2 relatives	40 780	29 320	5 160	3 280	2 260	760	15 800	6 040	3 960	2 7
1 ancestor + 1 relative	37 580	17 600	7 700	6 860	3 640	1 780	25 480	6 380	6 820	6 8
3 relatives	5 940	5 340	600	—	—	—	1 440	840	600	—
other groups of 2 or more persons	71 240	51 600	11 380	6 180	2 080	—	30 780	13 620	8 900	6 1
Nuclei composed « differently » (*b*)	75 720	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	
Total (*c*)	13 930 920	6 704 100	2 904 760	2 065 760	1 130 900	1 049 680	9 646 800	3 376 020	2 370 020	1 868 8
Main nuclei										
Nuclei consisting of a single person	155 900	155 900	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pure nuclei (*a*)	387 820	188 740	102 260	51 180	23 980	21 660	340 280	188 740	71 200	41 4
Nuclei containing in addition :										
1 ancestor	33 900	20 780	7 040	3 460	1 400	1 220	26 580	15 280	5 880	3 0
1 relative	26 420	15 880	5 060	2 720	1 540	1 220	16 360	7 720	3 860	2 3
1 non-relative	11 560	7 440	1 960	1 060	600	500	6 060	3 080	1 200	8
2 ancestors	760	580	140	40	—	—	660	480	140	
2 relatives	2 560	1 640	380	380	120	40	1 200	480	220	3
1 ancestor + 1 relative	2 060	1 380	400	180	40	60	1 520	860	380	1
3 relatives	500	480	20	—	—	—	140	120	20	—
other groups of 2 or more persons	4 880	3 580	640	340	60	260	2 780	1 880	500	3
Nuclei composed « differently » » (*b*)	4 340	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	
Total (*c*)	630 700	396 400	117 900	59 360	27 740	24 960	395 580	218 640	83 400	48 5
Secondary nuclei										
Pure nuclei (*a*)										
Total	645 080	219 160	234 560	117 060	47 680	26 620	539 680	219 160	162 320	95 0
All nuclei (*c*)	15 206 700	7 319 660	3 257 220	2 242 180	1 206 320	1 101 260	10 582 060	3 813 820	2 615 740	2 012 3
Of which : pure nuclei (*a*)	10 538 880	3 505 220	2 945 940	2 009 140	1 076 860	1 001 720	9 593 580	3 505 220	2 360 880	1 801 6
Main or single nuclei also containing :										
1 other person	1 355 220	644 620	281 340	213 140	119 480	96 640	898 040	275 200	229 800	191 3
2 or more other persons	179 340	116 620	29 940	19 900	9 980	2 900	90 440	33 400	25 060	19 3

Source : « Ménages-Familles », 1962 Census, INSEE, Paris, 1968.

- — woman with no spouse and with one unrelated person and one child ;
- — woman with no spouse and with two unrelated persons ;
- — *main* nucleus consisting of a couple and up to 4 children (5 cases) ;
- — main nucleus consisting of a couple and a parent ;
- — main nucleus consisting of a couple and a relative ;
- — main nucleus consisting of a couple with a female head with or without children (2 cases) ;
- — main nucleus consisting of a man only and possibly up to 2 children (3 cases) ;
- — main nucleus consisting of a woman only and possibly up to 3 children (4 cases) ;
- — secondary nuclei consisting of a couple with up to 5 children (6 cases) ;
- — secondary nuclei consisting of a couple with a female head with or without children (2 cases) ;
- — secondary nucleus consisting of a man only with up to 3 children (3 cases) ;
- — secondary nucleus consisting of a woman only with up to 3 children (3 cases).

This gives us *83* different types which are difficult to classify more simply than by this long enumeration since the principle of their composition is no

II-XVI-6

o the sex of the head of the nucleus

ouple		Nucleus with one father only						Nucleus with one mother only					
3	4 or more	Total	Number of children					Total	Number of children				
			0	1	2	3	4 or more		0	1	2	3	4 or more
—	—	930 440	930 440	—	—	—	—	1 966 860	1 966 60	—	—	—	
931 900	891 840	145 420	—	87 300	32 560	14 160	11 400	646 940	—	394 460	143 140	59 140	50 200
72 460	59 100	57 800	47 860	5 440	2 820	1 300	380	71 500	43 100	15 660	7 560	3 740	1 520
24 160	22 220	69 340	64 000	3 200	1 280	580	280	111 780	94 040	10 660	4 180	1 340	1 060
9 640	8 320	43 020	38 660	2 940	960	380	80	80 780	63 740	10 520	3 940	1 840	740
1 780	—	1 580	1 580	—	—	—	—	820	820	—	—	—	—
2 260	760	12 460	12 140	200	120	—	—	12 520	11 140	1 000	380	—	—
3 640	1 780	8 560	8 260	300	—	—	—	3 540	2 960	580	—	—	—
—	—	3 000	3 000	—	—	—	—	1 500	1 500	—	—	—	—
2 080	—	19 320	18 880	440	—	—	—	21 140	19 100	2 040	—	—	—
//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//	//
047 920	984 020	1 290 940	1 124 820	99 820	37 740	16 420	12 140	2 917 460	2 203 260	434 920	159 200	66 560	53 520
—	—	51 640	51 640	—	—	—	—	104 260	104 260	—	—	—	—
20 200	18 700	12 540	—	8 300	2 440	1 020	780	35 000	—	22 760	7 300	2 760	2 180
1 220	1 180	3 180	2 660	380	80	40	20	4 140	2 840	780	360	140	20
1 300	1 160	4 740	4 020	520	80	100	20	5 320	4 140	680	320	140	40
480	460	1 820	1 560	180	20	40	20	3 680	2 800	580	200	80	20
—	—	80	80	—	—	—	—	20	20	—	—	—	—
120	40	740	680	40	20	—	—	620	480	120	20	—	—
40	60	400	380	20	—	—	—	140	140	—	—	—	—
—	—	220	220	—	—	—	—	140	140	—	—	—	—
60	—	560	520	40	—	—	—	1 540	1 180	100	—	—	260
//	//	//	//	//	//	//		//	//	//	//	//	//
23 420	21 600	75 920	61 760	9 480	2 640	1 200	840	154 860	116 000	25 020	8 200	3 120	2 520
40 620	22 540	16 160	—	11 120	3 140	1 220	680	89 240	—	61 120	18 880	5 840	3 400
111 960	1 028 160	1 383 020	1 186 580	120 420	43 520	18 840	13 660	3 161 560	2 319 260	521 060	186 280	75 520	59 440
992 720	933 080	174 120	—	106 720	38 140	16 400	12 860	771 180	—	478 340	169 320	67 740	55 780
109 260	92 440	179 900	158 760	12 660	5 240	2 440	800	277 280	210 660	38 880	16 560	7 780	3 400
9 980	2 640	46 920	45 740	1 040	140	—	—	41 980	37 480	3 840	400	—	260

longer deductive. With such a huge number of possible cases, all that can be done is to produce an a posteriori classification based on the situations for which there is sufficient evidence on record. The usefulness of this classification is not immediately apparent, but we shall give some idea of it through the extract in Table II-XVI-8.

In the first part of this table (II-XVI-8*a*), we show the numbers of nuclei consisting of a couple according to the position of those nuclei in the household in relation to their progenitors : with two progenitors, with one only or with none. We have separated farming households from the others in order to consider more homogeneous behaviour patterns. The probability is that in the early days of a marriage a young couple usually lives with one of the parent families, then leaves it or else the parents die. Nuclei with no children should therefore correspond to young or old couples, while families with several children would be at an intermediate age.

Table II-XVI-8*a* does suggest this interpretation : the larger the family, the less often it lives in the progenitors' family and the more often it houses a progenitor. But apart from this phenomenon, which depends on the designation of the household head and no doubt reflects the transmission of authority, the results are rather flat : the proportion of families on their own varies between 89 and 93 per cent in the non-farm sector and between 77 and 83 per cent in the farming sector. This is where the big 1962 Census

Table II-XVI-7

Combined characteristics of secondary nuclei and main nuclei

Composition of the secondary nuclei	All secondary nuclei	Main nuclei whose head has no spouse			Main nuclei whose head is one of a couple			Other cases		
		Both sexes together	The head ot the nucleus is		Both sexes together	The head of the nucleus is		Both sexes together	The head of the nucleus is	
			Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female
All secondary nuclei										
Nuclei comprising a head with no spouse living with his or her children										
Male head	16 060	5 340	1 140	4 200	8 160	7 780	380	2 560	1 880	680
Female head	89 220	36 480	10 800	25 680	42 400	41 780	620	10 340	8 160	2 180
Nuclei comprising a couple										
With children	320 640	108 040	33 120	74 920	179 540	178 420	1 120	33 060	25 380	7 680
With no children	219 160	61 480	21 080	40 400	131 600	130 200	1 400	26 080	21 520	4 560
All secondary nuclei	645 080	211 340	66 140	145 200	361 700	358 180	3 520	72 040	56 940	15 100
Secondary nuclei with a « Children » relationship										
Nuclei comprising a head with no spouse living with his or her children										
Male head	9 460	3 880	600	3 280	5 220	4 840	380	360	180	180
Female head	60 560	26 800	4 760	22 040	31 900	31 320	580	1 860	1 240	620
Nuclei comprising a couple										
With children	291 800	102 840	30 800	72 040	175 820	174 700	1 120	13 140	9 160	3 980
With no children	118 860	44 540	11 500	33 040	71 900	71 040	860	2 420	1 600	820
All « children » nuclei	480 680	178 060	47 660	130 400	284 840	281 900	2 940	17 780	12 180	5 600
Secondary nuclei with a « Parents » relationship										
Nuclei comprising a head with no spouse living with his or her children										
Male head	3 440	380	300	80	2 000	2 000	—	1 060	960	100
Female head	12 880	2 940	2 240	700	6 220	6 200	20	3 720	3 360	360
Nuclei comprising a couple										
With children	5 540	440	360	80	380	380	—	4 720	4 480	240
With no children	73 940	7 360	5 440	1 920	48 540	48 100	440	18 040	15 580	2 460
All « parents » nuclei	95 800	11 120	8 340	2 780	57 140	56 680	460	27 540	24 380	3 160
Secondary nuclei with a « Relatives » relationship										
Nuclei comprising a head with no spouse living with his or her children										
Male head	1 720	540	120	420	660	660	—	520	360	160
Female head	8 780	3 680	2 080	1 600	1 920	1 900	20	3 180	2 480	700
Nuclei comprising a couple										
With children	14 800	2 080	1 040	1 040	1 580	1 580	—	11 140	8 940	2 200
With no children	12 900	4 520	1 960	2 560	5 180	5 160	20	3 200	2 640	560
All « relatives » nuclei	38 200	10 820	5 200	5 620	9 340	9 300	40	18 040	14 420	3 620
Secondary nuclei with « Other relationships »										
Nuclei comprising a head with no spouse living with his or her children										
Male head	1 440	540	120	420	280	280	—	620	380	240
Female head	7 000	3 060	1 720	1 340	2 360	2 360	—	1 580	1 080	500
Nuclei comprising a couple										
With children	8 500	2 680	920	1 760	1 760	1 760	—	4 060	2 800	1 260
With no children	13 460	5 060	2 180	2 880	5 980	5 900	80	2 420	1 700	720
All « other relationships » nuclei	30 400	11 340	4 940	6 400	10 380	10 300	80	8 680	5 960	2 720

Source : « Ménages-familles », 1962 Census, INSEE, Paris, 1968.

Table II-XVI-8*a*

Numbers

Number of children	0	1	2	3	4	5	Type of nucleus
Farming nuclei	61 3	43 5	37 1	18 4	7 7	3 3	Secondary
	36 1	36 6	35 0	19 6	10 3	5 3	Single with one progenitor
	441 7	302 8	244 7	148 3	80 1	43 1	Single only
Total	533 1	382 9	316 8	186 3	98 1	51 7	
Non-farming nuclei	153 0	116 2	56 9	21 6	5 8	2 2	Secondary
	103 4	109 5	94 3	52 5	24 3	10 8	Single with progenitor
	2 574 5	1 798 7	1 408 4	777 0	373 6	177 0	Single only
Total	2 830 9	2 024 4	1 559 6	851 1	403 7	190 0	

Percentages of each type of nucleus

Number of children	0	1	2	3	4	5	Type of nucleus
Farming nuclei	11.5	11.4	11.7	9.9	7.8	6.4	Secondary
	5.6	9.6	11.0	10.5	10.5	10.3	Single with one progenitor
	82.9	80.0	77.3	79.6	81.7	83.3	Single only
Non-farming nuclei	5.4	5.7	3.7	2.5	1.4	1.2	Secondary
	3.6	5.4	6.0	6.2	6.0	6.0	Single with one progenitor
	91.0	88.9	90.3	91.3	92.6	92.8	Single only

Table II-XVI-8*b*

Couples aged 25 to 34 years

Number of children	0	1	2	3	4	5	Type of nucleus
Farming nuclei	14 32	22 76	15 50	5 98	1 76	0 66	Secondary
	1 86	3 76	4 40	2 06	0 86	0 48	Single with one progenitor
	27 72	49 76	44 74	23 54	10 82	4 36	Single only
Total	43 90	76 28	64 64	31 58	13 44	5 50	
Non-farming nuclei	52 82	61 86	27 40	9 16	2 12	0 58	Secondary
	8 40	18 44	17 76	7 90	3 18	1 50	Single with one progenitor
	353 12	518 00	416 08	196 46	77 56	31 52	Single only
Total	414 34	598 30	461 24	213 52	82 86	33 60	

Percentages of each type of nucleus

Number of children	0	1	2	3	4	5	Type of nucleus
Farming nuclei	32.6	29.8	24.0	18.9	13.1	12.0	Secondary
	4.2	4.9	6.8	6.5	6.4	8.7	Single with one progenitor
	63.2	65.3	69.2	74.6	80.5	79.3	Single only
Non-farming nuclei	12.7	10.3	5.9	4.3	2.6	1.7	Secondary
	2.0	3.1	3.9	3.7	3.8	4.5	Single with one progenitor
	85.3	86.6	91.2	92.0	93.6	93.8	Single only

table mentioned above proves useful : thus, another series can be extracted from it in which the age of the household head is specified and the same study repeated. Table II-XVI-8*b* corresponds to this constraint. Only nuclei where the head of household is 25 to 34 years old have been retained. The trend is much clearer because, although the age is fixed, it is much more sensitive to the number of children since the event of children leaving the household has not yet occurred. The difference between town and country is still more marked ; not only is co-residence much more frequent in a rural environment, but it seems to last much longer (the two effects combining in the results).

Other factors may influence this trend, and of these the most important must be the dwelling. Since the majority of secondary nuclei of the « children » type co-reside with a parent couple, it is tempting to interpret these figures in terms of the life cycle : gradual departure of the children from the parental

Table II-XVI-9

Biological families according to number and age (three items) of the children aged 16 and under, by socio-economic category (two items) and status (three items) of the head of family

Number of children				All families	Number of families with … children							
Total	of whom : number of children aged :				Whether the head of family lives with a spouse			Socio-economic category and status of the head of family				
	0 to 2	3 to 6	7 to 16		With spouse	With no spouse	Total	Farming categories	Non-farming categories			
									Total	Self-employed and employers	Employees	Inactive and unemployed
0	—	—	—	5 312 980	5 072 940	240 040	5 312 980	1 011 600	4 301 380	633 580	2 265 800	1 402 000
1	1	—	—	2 493 500	470 220	26 280	496 500	365 740	2 127 760	301 960	1 624 160	201 640
	—	1	—		433 380	36 200	469 580					
	—	—	1		1 326 260	201 160	1 527 420					
2	2	—	—	1 764 940	62 440	1 960	64 400	274 100	1 490 840	200 840	1 204 780	85 220
	—	2	—		145 100	5 940	151 040					
	—	—	2		764 540	68 060	832 600					
	1	1	—		256 660	7 260	263 920					
	1	—	1		86 840	3 640	90 480					
	—	1	1		346 660	15 840	362 500					
3	3	—	—	930 160	1 380	20	1 400	156 980	773 180	84 700	646 560	41 920
	—	3	—		21 080	840	21 920					
	—	—	3		293 020	23 280	316 300					
	2	1	0		34 080	660	34 740					
	2	—	1		4 680	140	4 820					
	1	2	—		84 180	2 040	86 220					
	—	2	1		74 400	2 700	77 100					
	1	—	2		63 600	2 020	65 620					
	—	1	2		234 460	9 000	243 460					
	1	1	1		76 760	1 820	78 580					
4	—	4	—	435 860	1 040	20	1 060	82 080	353 780	32 800	298 780	22 240
	—	—	4		88 920	7 860	96 780					
	3	1	—		880	—	880					
	1	3	—		16 600	400	17 000					
	—	3	1		10 100	460	10 560					
	1	—	3		33 800	740	34 540					
	—	1	3		115 240	5 720	120 960					
	2	2	—		12 360	380	12 740					
	2	1	1		6 140	280	6 420					
	2	—	2		2 720	60	2 780					
	—	2	2		45 840	1 840	47 680					
	1	2	1		33 300	980	34 280					
	1	1	2		48 920	1 260	50 180					
5	—	—	5	198 660	23 280	2 640	25 920	40 060	158 600	11 880	134 700	12 020
	1	4	—		1 200	60	1 260					
	—	4	1		640	40	680					
	1	—	4		13 120	460	13 580					
	—	1	4		46 520	2 480	49 000					
	2	3	—		3 440	80	3 520					
	1	3	1		8 440	240	8 680					
	—	3	2		5 300	340	5 640					
	—	2	3		27 420	1 240	28 660					
	1	1	3		30 200	720	30 920					
	2	2	1		5 160	80	5 240					
	2	1	2		4 320	160	4 480					
	1	2	2		20 420	660	21 080					
6	—	—	6	94 180	5 440	840	6 280	18 700	75 480	5 200	64 100	6 180
	1	—	5		4 540	160	4 700					
	—	1	5		17 500	1 180	18 680					
	1	1	4		16 740	420	17 160					
	—	2	4		14 440	880	15 320					
	2	3	1		1 560	60	1 620					
	1	3	2		5 160	200	5 360					
	—	3	3		3 440	300	3 740					
	2	1	3		3 220	120	3 340					
	1	2	3		14 060	300	14 360					
	2	2	2		3 560	60	3 620					

Table II-XVI-9 (*cont'd*)

Number of children				All Families	Number of families with … children							
Total	of whom : number of children aged :				Whether the head of family lives with a spouse			Socio-economic category and status of the head of family				
								Farming categories	Non-farming categories			
	0 to 2	3 to 6	7 to 16		With spouse	With no spouse	Total		Total	Self-employed and employers	Employees	Inactive and unemployed
7	—	1	6	41 560	4 680	720	5 400	8 820	32 740	1 700	27 820	3 220
	1	1	5		7 660	340	8 000					
	—	2	5		6 680	720	7 400					
	2	1	4		1 820	120	1 940					
	1	2	4		8 740	460	9 200					
	—	3	4		2 240	120	2 360					
	2	3	2		1 460	20	1 480					
	1	3	3		3 400	140	3 540					
	2	2	3		2 220	20	2 240					
8	1	2	5	12 420	4 720	780	5 500	2 180	10 240	700	8 380	1 160
	—	3	5		1 280	360	1 640					
	2	2	4		1 240	100	1 340					
	1	3	4		2 600	220	2 820					
	2	3	3		1 080	40	1 120					
9	1	2	6	2 480	1 740	740	2 480	620	1 860	80	1 600	180
All other cases				34 820	11 160	23 660	34 820	7 280	27 540	1 540	23 500	2 500
All families				11 321 560	10 610 380	711 180	11 321 560	1 968 160	9 353 400	1 274 980	6 300 180	1 778 240

Source : « Ménages-familles », 1962 Census, INSEE, Paris, 1968.

home as they grow older, death of one parent, followed by the other. In this 25-34 age-group, the number of children is in fact a good indicator of the duration of marriage. The analysis could be carried much further still and other groups extracted from this big census table, but what was important was to show its interest rather than analyse it intensively and that becomes very obvious when we compare Tables II-XVI-8*a* and *b* with the solitary piece of information given by the subsequent census (Table II-XVI-4). Moreover, interesting though these data are, we still have not found any description of young children within the family and the household ; we must now consider this point.

5. THE CHILD AND THE BIOLOGICAL FAMILY

We have seen that the biological family was a subgroup of the family nucleus. In identifying it, account was taken of kinship links for children up to the age of 25. This upper limit is too high for the purposes of describing childhood, so we are not going to show the 1962 Census tables for biological families (they are broken down according to number of children and category of the nucleus or age of the head of family). Fortunately, there are more precise tables on childhood. One of them very conventionally classifies families according to the number of children aged under 17, 7 and 3. But the most interesting presentation is the one in Table II-XVI-9 where, up to four children, all possible cases are considered.

Unfortunately, the details of the situation of the biological family in its nucleus and then in the household have now completely disappeared, so it is impossible to place the child in its customary surroundings.

However, a good picture of sibship can be derived from this table. It is possible to reconstitute the number or age of brothers and sisters for children under three, as seen in Table II-XVI-10.

Table II-XVI-10

Distribution of families (in thousands), according to size of sibling group of children aged 0 to 2 years
1962 Census

Number of siblings	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Families with two spouses	470.0	471.9	292.8	177.7	99.1	57.3	30.8
Families with one spouse only	26.3	14.9	7.2	4.8	2.5	1.3	1.1

Table II-XVI-11*a*

Private households according to the population density, the number of persons and the number of families in the household

Family structure according to number of persons	All households	Population density				
		Marked under-population	Moderate under-population	Normal population	Moderate over-population	Marked over-population
Households with 0 family	4 055 200	673 320	814 540	1 198 920	1 211 700	156 720
Percentage	*100.0*	*16.6*	*20.1*	*29.5*	*30.0*	*3.8*
Households with 1 family	11 388 940	1 939 240	2 528 420	3 445 040	2 302 260	1 173 980
Percentage	*100.0*	*17.0*	*22.2*	*30.3*	*20.2*	*10.3*
Households with 2 families	328 060	54 180	55 620	81 560	70 880	65 820
Percentage	*100.0*	*16.5*	*16.9*	*24.9*	*21.6*	*20.1*
Households with 3 families	5 900	920	640	940	1 300	2 100
Percentage	*100.0*	*15.6*	*10.9*	*15.9*	*22.0*	*35.6*
All households	15 778 100	2 667 660	3 399 220	4 726 460	3 586 140	1 398 620
Percentage	100.0	16.9	21.5	30.0	22.7	8.9
Of which : household with :						
1 person	3 198 260	542 160	671 920	973 480	1 010 700	—
Percentage	*100.0*	*17.0*	*21.0*	*30.4*	*31.6*	—
2 persons	4 237 820	1 112 240	1 204 280	1 191 180	600 600	129 520
Percentage	*100.0*	*26.2*	*28.4*	*28.1*	*14.2*	*3.1*
0 family	670 280	105 640	122 660	188 960	159 440	93 580
1 family	3 567 540	1 006 600	1 081 620	1 002 220	441 160	35 940
3 persons	2 942 200	437 020	646 740	983 080	631 820	243 540
Percentage	*100.0*	*14.8*	*22.0*	*33.4*	*21.5*	*8.3*
0 family	133 860	19 940	16 260	30 080	32 900	34 680
1 family	2 808 340	417 080	630 480	953 000	598 920	208 860
4 persons	2 377 440	300 180	491 680	787 900	543 440	254 240
Percentage	*100.0*	*12.6*	*20.7*	*33.1*	*22.9*	*10.7*
0 family	33 260	3 960	2 880	4 960	6 400	15 060
1 family	2 293 680	282 980	475 400	769 020	529 740	236 540
2 families	50 500	13 240	13 400	13 920	7 300	2 640
5 persons	1 456 040	149 220	224 380	456 980	386 760	238 700
Percentage	*100.0*	*10.2*	*15.4*	*31.4*	*26.6*	*16.4*
0 family	9 900	1 060	460	900	1 220	6 260
1 family	1 357 040	132 060	206 840	428 780	366 020	223 340
2 families	89 100	16 100	17 080	27 300	19 520	9 100
6 persons	772 580	76 080	101 040	201 560	210 520	183 380
Percentage	*100.0*	*9.8*	*13.1*	*26.1*	*27.3*	*23.7*
0 family	4 000	380	140	280	620	2 580
1 family	683 740	61 660	86 620	179 460	189 740	166 260
2 families	84 280	13 940	14 180	21 700	20 000	14 460
3 families	560	100	100	120	160	80
7 persons	391 640	31 860	35 420	82 120	112 620	129 620
Percentage	*100.0*	*8.1*	*9.0*	*21.0*	*28.8*	*33.1*
0 family	1 940	60	160	140	180	1 400
1 family	336 100	24 640	28 340	70 220	98 900	114 000
2 families	52 300	6 980	6 720	11 420	13 140	14 040
3 families	1 300	180	200	340	400	180
8 persons	195 500	12 380	14 880	32 860	50 840	84 540
Percentage	*100.0*	*6.3*	*7.6*	*16.8*	*26.0*	*43.3*
0 family	1 200	40	40	40	40	1 040
1 family	167 300	9 480	12 060	28 180	44 160	73 420
2 families	26 020	2 620	2 640	4 400	6 400	9 960
3 families	980	240	140	240	240	120
9 persons or more	206 620	6 520	8 880	17 300	38 840	135 080
Percentage	*100.0*	*3.1*	*4.3*	*8.4*	*18.8*	*65.4*
0 family	2 500	80	20	80	200	2 120
1 family	175 200	4 740	7 060	14 160	33 620	115 620
2 families	25 860	1 300	1 600	2 820	4 520	15 620
3 families	3 060	400	200	240	500	1 720

Source : « Ménages-familles », 1968 Census, INSEE, Paris, 1973.

Table II-XVI-9 was dropped from the 1968 Census and the only counts remaining are those by number of children aged under 17, 7 and 3. On the other hand, the data on the dwelling reappeared in 1968. We have already presented similar data in the case of Ireland. It is as well to return to this problem in order to stress its relevance, and also the limited description potential.

6. HOUSEHOLDS IN THEIR DWELLING

Since the definition of the household in France coincides with that of the dwelling, like the snail and its shell, there is some point in seeing how the household fits into its habitat. Table II-XVI-11*a* combines the size of the household with the number of families living in it and the « dwelling occupancy index ». The rigidity of housing conditions already apparent in Ireland stands out clearly here : the proportion of overcrowded dwellings increases steadily with the size of the household. It is more curious to find that the structure of the household also has an effect, as is shown briefly in Table II-XVI-11*b* : the more complex the structure, the better housed the family (relatively). This remark suggests that the definition of overcrowding is also in question and there may be some point in analysing it since, as well as France, many countries apply similar norms.

This over-occupancy index is calculated as follows : the dwelling is described by an *a priori norm* and must include :

a) a living room ;
b) a room for each head of family ;
c) a room for each ever-married person outside the family ;
d) a room for each unmarried person aged 19 or over ;
e) for children, one room for two on condition that they are of the same sex (unless they are both under 7) ;
f) a room for all servants and housed employees.

No comment here since this is the rule. Under-occupancy or over-occupancy are then defined by reference to this norm in terms of extra rooms or rooms wanting :

— Marked under-occupancy	:	two rooms above the norm
— Moderate under-occupancy	:	one room above the norm
— Normal occupancy	:	norm complied with as regards number of rooms
— Moderate over-occupancy	:	one room under the norm
— Marked over-occupancy	:	at least two rooms under the norm

The statistical abstraction will be noted : it matters little what real use the rooms are put to, they are allocated according to the norm. Anyone familiar with architecture will know how much the assignment of premises is a matter of culture and environment. But this is not the only criticism possible : the composition of the household plays a role (Table II-XVI-11*b*), no doubt because of the rule itself, for many real situations (such as consensual union) are overlooked : partners in a consensual union must have two separate rooms and a legally married couple a single room. Thirdly, the index itself is badly constructed since two rooms short is no doubt a great inconvenience for a small household but much less so for a big one : proportions should have been considered.

Table II-XVI-11*b*

Proportion of dwellings in a state of marked over-occupancy according to the size of the household and the number of families it contains

Number of families	Number of persons				
	5	6	7	8	9
0	63	65	72	87	85
1	16	24	34	44	66
2	10	17	27	38	60
3	—	14	14	12	56

But these criticisms are not relevant, since we know what these over-occupancy indices are actually used for : to facilitate the renovation of « run-down tenements » and to get the poor and the old out of the centre of cities. These problems therefore have little bearing on those of childhood and it would be dangerous to use the data on dwelling occupancy as they stand.

With France our journey through the household and its families comes to an end. Far from drawing together the divergent points of view of the other countries, the impressive rational construction of the 1962 French Census has confused the situation still more by proposing different principles and a different structural system.

The rational aspect is perhaps linked more with the use of computer codes than with the famous French Cartesian logic. Either way, the result is there, at once sorry and splendid. Sorry because it was no more able than the other methods to give a clear idea of the place of children in households. Splendid because the whole array of tables (170 pages in 1962, not counting the regional data) nevertheless offers many paths by which to approach the situation of childhood.

All that remains now is to sum up briefly.

CONCLUSIONS

We have tried to analyse each country by looking at its options and their consequences, without attempting to draw comparisons between countries or to classify their different ways of counting household families and children. Our desire was to show the individuality of each country and the variety of perspectives they offered in consequence.

Welding these points of view into one formal theory is certainly impossible, but that does not mean one cannot identify the basic points of departure from which countries inevitably go their separate ways. The reason why unity of theory is impossible is that it is necessary to work at three levels. First, sibship and the identification of who are the child's brothers and sisters and how old they are. Second, the family into which the sibling group fits alongside relatives present or absent for various reasons. Third and uppermost, the household into which the family nuclei fit with the addition of lone persons ; and all the possible combinations of relationships between these units.

The three-dimensional matrix that would describe these three levels — sibling group type, family type, household type — is too cumbersome to set up and develop in printed tables. Just imagine a hundred types of sibling group (with a system like Norway's) combined with twenty family types (as in Germany with divorce and widowhood taken into account) and the lot cross-classified with fifty household categories : 100 000 possible situations. Admittedly, fewer than these are observed as there are bound to be interlockings that show how this or that type of family fits into this or that type of household. But even if the number can be whittled down to 2 000 real situations, that is still too many to take in at once. They have to be reorganised and even *re-presented*, that is to say some regrouped into larger units and others, usually the infrequent situations, discarded.

Furthermore, those two thousand cases already take no account of the exact composition of multifamily households. Just for two-family households, it is necessary to combine each type of sibling group with each first-family type and second-family type for each of the various links they may have ancestral, affinal, unrelated), i.e. $(100 \times 20)^2 \times 3 = 12$ million combinations ! So clearly there is nothing for it but to produce a summary representation.

We emphasize this first *formal* difficulty, but there is also the underlying *real* difficulty of understanding and describing the household.

This real difficulty has been discussed in the first part of this study, but the actual demonstration of it came with the comments in the second part. The very substance of families is constantly evolving and they are moving quite rapidly out of the statistical framework that was supposed to describe them. Thus, the downturn in mortality and the lower age of mothers at childbirth are fast increasing the number of coexistent generations and the probability of their coexistence within households. Similarly, the changing marital pattern in several countries, where marriage follows a long period of living together, is not at all well accommodated by the « legal » categories of the nuclear family. Lastly, more complicated social units like institutions or districts cannot fit into the present nomenclatures. It was therefore appropriate to examine the methods of classification as well as their numerical results : the former reflect the state of family norms, the latter describe the relative significance of those norms.

These two difficulties, one formal, the other real, partly explain the diversity of the solutions adopted by the developed countries. Yet the key choices were made at certain easily identifiable moments. Here they are.

1. PRESENCE AND ABSENCE

Who is part of the household and who is not ? The definitions of presence are important. They range from physical presence on census night (New Zealand) to *de jure* presence, even if the person concerned is serving a five-year jail sentence or in a hospital sick-bed (Latin countries). Between these two extremes there are a great variety of situations combining social criteria (« responsibility » for children) and economic criteria (place of economic activity, place of production, place of consumption). There are no straightforward « present » and « absent » categories, but rather a continuum that transcends families and households and concerns the very principle of each census.

2. THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

Who is the household head ? The two extreme positions are these : either the head is the person who says he is (France) or the head is necessarily determined by the structure of the household, in other words he is the consequence thereof. Between these extremes there is, again, a continuum of behaviours. Some countries designate the household head automatically in certain circumstances : the husband in a couple, for example. Others leave much more scope for variation, even to the point of designating the head in nearly every case, regardless of what the other members of the household may say (Switzerland).

Two opposing interests are responsible for this confusion. On the one hand, one wants to know who the head is. This is particularly important when several adults live together. On the other hand, two families whose members are similarly related are considered classifiable in the same type, so the classification may depend on whoever says he is the household head (this has been seen in the case of Belgium).

3. THE ORGANISATIONAL PRINCIPLE

Here we find the household head in action. In some cases he is the fulcrum of the household and each member is identified in relation to him regardless of links with other household members (this is so in Switzerland). In other cases the household is a constellation in which several families or family nuclei coexist surrounded by a halo of persons related or unrelated to the nuclei (often the case in the Nordic countries). Between rigid hierarchy and autonomous coexistence there are several intermediate solutions, the most complicated of which is the French one which identifies a principal nucleus dominating the other nuclei and lone persons.

4. GENERATIONS OR NUCLEI

Here we have another major principle from which two distinct types of organisation have branched. Either it is the family's life cycle that is considered and generations and their overlaps are counted. A person is then no longer described by what he is now, but by his familial trajectory (e.g. the family nucleus residues in Germany). Or else there is the classification as of now which disregards antecedent links and describes only the present configurations (as in the majority of countries). In the chapter on Japan we showed the extreme difficulty of moving from one classification to the other.

There is nothing in between these two types, only some reminders or traces of the generational system in the classifications as of now (in the United Kingdom and in the last German census).

5. SIBSHIP

The differences here are smaller and less consequential since they rest on a variable which is already highly codified : age. The different countries seem to be trying to outdo one another in ingenious ways of describing the ages of the various children. In the sorting process they either cross-classify several big age groups (how many families have x number of children of one age, and y number of children of another age), or they classify according to the age of the first and of the last child, according to the presence of at least or at most one child in this or that configuration. These differences do not affect the basic principle of using age and are therefore relatively insignificant. They are really technicalities.

These few principles are not independent of one another : they control each other to a greater or lesser degree without its being possible to say just how much. So the choice of the household head is important in a country like Switzerland where it constitutes the organisational principle. But that choice is of no consequence in a country like Sweden, where they count only the number of nuclear families in the household.

However, it is pointless to take the analysis any further, for we cannot hope to discover the combinatorial rules that descriptions of the household and family obey. It is not even certain that there are basic structures of this sort which organise those big tabulations of figures and lengthy type classifications presented in the second part of this study.

Should one deplore the fact that each country has its own approach and suggest some means of standardization ? Indeed not. These descriptions reflect more fundamental differences in the way childhood is organised. Rather than repudiate them or try to diminish them with blanket clarifications, they should be studied in all their diversity since that is what shows how the whole complex functions. It is better to have a reassembled machine than a set of components without an assembly plan.

On the other hand, should one just welcome this diversity ? Again the answer is no. It has to be the lead-in to a new way of looking at demography. Instead of trying vainly to compare sophisticated indicators of fertility between time periods and between countries in the hope of finding statistical links with other economic or social variables, what is needed is to combine a systematic study of household and family with other studies on other areas of households' activity.

We have seen a few first steps in this direction in a number of the countries that have been studied. Greece was concerned with household consumption, New Zealand with household income, Ireland with dwellings.

The adding-together of these elements creates points at which the household can be fixed in its immediate environment : extended family, neighbourhood or institutions frequented. It is here, imperceptibly, that the demographer hands over to the other artisans who will describe how the child leaves its family and moves into an intermediate environment and then makes its first contacts with the outside world.

So, instead of an outer typological consistency, instead of a formal explanation of these family classifications, we chose an inner, almost organic analysis where each country reveals the logic of its own construction and the changes this has undergone. The first part of this study showed that we could not arrive at an *exact* knowledge of populations with conventional methods of « demographic analysis ». The more the phenomena were broken down, the harder it was to pull the strands together again. Yet the study of out-of-wedlock births showed where the answer might lie. It is the linkage of phenomena, the way they succeed one another and the way they relate to one another that hold the clue to how and why they occur.

Perhaps, like physicists, we should acknowledge that different theories apply on different levels (galactic, planetary, human, molecular, intra-atomic). Then, from the standpoint of the state the conventional data would suffice, but from that of child, family and household a different analysis with different concepts would be necessary.

In the one case the individual is reduced to the parameters of age, sex, occupation and location, in the other he is described by his relationship to other individuals ; and it is these relationships, in fact, that become the subject of study, just as the parameters or variables held the centre of the stage in the conventional studies.

The basic contradiction between two ways of describing demographic data would still be either just a hint or purely a matter of opinion if we had not studied the child's place in the family and the household.

This change of viewpoint put us in an ideal position to explore and illustrate the coexistence of two ways of describing populations.

So in fact it was important to study family structures through the statistics of the developed countries, but conversely it was also instructive to follow and analyse the ups and downs of demographic statistics. In other words, there was the sort of duality well known to mathematicians whereby the analysis of the subject becomes the subject of the analysis. To put it in a nutshell, we were looking for statistics to describe the family to us, but we found that at the same time the family gave us an excellent point of view on statistics. But the reader discovered that a long way back : the laws of thought concern us all, just as much as the laws of nature.

Appendix

REFERENCE SOURCES FOR PART ONE

The overall numerical tables were compiled from a wide variety of sources, including the United Nations demographic yearbooks, the yearbooks of each country and, in some cases, special publications (certain long-run series published in some countries or studies carried out by international offices). The sources for Tables I-1, I-2 and I-3 are those of OECD.

The asterisked figures were found in the monthly bulletins of statistics published by the great majority of the statistical services and indicated in the list. These figures are not final and in Chapter II we explained what would be done about them.

The general demography manuals which were criticised in Chapters II and IV for their overconfident scientific approach are the following :

Pressat, R., *L'analyse démographique*. Paris : PUF, 1961.

Bogue, D.J., *Demographic Techniques of Fertility Analysis*, Family Planning Research and Evaluation Manual 2, University of Chicago, 1971.

Bogue, D.J., *Principles of Demography*. New York : John Wiley, 1969.

Smith, T.L. and Zopf, P.E., *Demography : Principle and Methods*. Washington : Alfred, 1976.

Benjamin, B., *Demographic Analysis*. London : Allen and Unwin, 1968.

Shryok, M.S. and Siegel, J.S., *The methods and material of demography*. New York : Academic Press, 1976.

Studies on illegitimate births are fairly numerous. The following are recommended as being among the most recent and the most interesting :

Moore, K.A. and Caldwell, S.B., *Out-of-wedlock Pregnancy and Childbearing*. Washington : The Urban Institute, 1976.

Hartley, S.F., *Illegitimacy*, Berkeley : University of California Press, 1976.

Laslett, P., *Family life and illicit love in earlier generations : essays in historical sociology*. Cambridge : University Press, 1977.

These three works each contain excellent bibliographies. In addition, successive issues of the periodicals « Journal of Marriage and the Family » and « Family Planning Perspectives » provide continuing information on the subject as well as the findings of the most important surveys (e.g. that of Zelnik and Kantner).

Some details were omitted regarding the structure and trend of populations. In addition to the general sources, it would be useful to consult the following international studies to obtain more extensive information :

— On forecasts to the year 2000 (3 hypotheses for each OECD country) : « Selected world demographic indicators by country », ESA/P/WP55, United Nations, New York, 1975.

— On fertility and nuptiality in the OECD European countries : « Economic survey of Europe 1974 », Secretariat of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, New York, 1976.

— On the numbers and proportions of children receiving schooling : UNESCO *Statistical Yearbook*, Paris, 1976, and Blot, D., *L'évolution démographique et ses conséquences sur la scolarisation*, OECD, Paris, 1977.

— On pre-primary education, the 1975 UNESCO yearbook, pp. 121 et seq., contains information on numbers of teachers and children.

— On the *female* labour force, information (participation rates by age) can be found in the national yearbooks and the 1976 ILO yearbook (pp. 17 et seq.) for all countries except Iceland ; recent (1975) participation rates for Europe will be found in the 1977 yearbook of the European Community (Eurostat, Brussels).

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Official Yearbook of Australia, 1974.
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Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Osterreich, 1976.
Die Natürliche Bevolkerung Bewegung, 1975.

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Canada :
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Denmark :
Statistisk Aarbog, 1976.
Befolkningens bevoegelser, 1975.

Finland :
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Vital Statistics, 1974.
Review of the Statistics in the years 1961-65 (1970).

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Mouvement naturel de la Population, 1970.

Federal Republic of Germany :
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Greece :
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Population and Vital Statistics, 1961-1970.

Ireland :
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Report on Vital Statistics, 1973.

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Annuario di Statistiche demografiche, 1973.
Popolazione e movimento anagrafico dei comuni, 1975.

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Estatisticas Demograficas Continente e Ilhas Adjacentes, 1974.

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Annuaire Statistique de la Suisse, 1976.
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The Registrar General's Statistical Review of England and Wales.

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Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1976.
Historical Statistics : Colonial Times to 1970 (1975).
Vital Statistics, 1974.

Yugoslavia :
Annuaire Statistique, 1976 (Statisticki Godisnjak).
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Quarterly Summary of Australian Statistics.

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Statistische Nachrichten.

Belgium :
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Canada :
Revue statistique du Canada.

Denmark :
Statistisk Efterretninger.

Finland :
Tilastokatsanksia.

France :
Bulletin statistique de l'INSEE.

Federal Republic of Germany :
Wirtschaft und Statistik.

Greece :
Monthly Statistical Bulletin.

Italy :
Bollettino mensile di Statistica.

Japan :
Monthly Bulletin of Statistics Bureau.

Netherlands :
Maandstatistick van bevolking en Volksgezondheid.

Norway :
Statistiske Meddelelser.

Portugal :
Boletin mensal.

Spain :
Boletin mensuel de Estatistica.

Sweden :
Allman Manadstatistik.

Switzerland :
La Vie Economique.

United Kingdom :
Monthly Digest of Statistics.

United States :
Monthly Vital Statistics Report.

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